

TITLE

**A GENEALOGICAL ANALYSIS OF INTERSUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT
PRACTICES IN TWO SOUTH AFRICAN CLASSROOMS**

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This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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“As the candidate’s Supervisor I agree/do not agree to the submission of this thesis.”

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ABSTRACT

In this study, I conduct a genealogical analysis of intersubjective assessment practices. With the help of Foucault (1926-1984) as well as other writers who provide genealogical insights, I set out to examine the effects of productive power within the realm of intersubjective assessment practice. My key concern, guided by Foucault, was to investigate the forms of power, trace its pathways and explore the discourses involved.

The study was carried out in a high school located within a city suburb. The key participants were three teachers within the learning areas of Maths, Languages (English Home Language) and Arts and Culture and their respective learners. Data was reduced from video transcripts, observations, and documents. Taking on the genealogical role of “*specific intellectual*” (Foucault, 1984), I attempted to “disturb” the truth of intersubjective assessment by standing up against the current of new ideas in assessment. I aimed to challenge the things that came across as natural or unquestionable about intersubjective assessment.

As part of this project, I tell two stories. In the first, I show through a look into the limitations of the past “objective” view of assessment, how the present “intersubjective” view has been conceptualised. I portray this move from the “objective” to the “intersubjective” view as a story of victory- which I go on to challenge through genealogical analysis. In the other story, I provide a perspective of actual practices of intersubjective assessment. My aim is to show that both stories are tied up in power, substantiating this study’s decision to explore the phenomenon of intersubjective assessment via a genealogical approach.

This genealogical analysis revealed a complexity of struggles on the part of teachers and learners in their intersubjective assessment practices. The sense was conveyed that the actual complexity of intersubjective assessment is back-grounded in the many petty and detailed practices in and around it. Some of these include, the conflicting subjectivities on

the part of both teachers and learners; the impact of the school's order mark system on intersubjective assessment; the impact of oppositional discourses in existence beneath the surface of schooling life; the panoptic hold those in power have over individual bodies, and the extent to which normalizing practices, both from sources external and internal to the school, impact on intersubjective assessment practices. A pervasive discourse revealed by the analysis was that of "composed performances" of intersubjective assessment. The study found that overt and covert forms of *Accountability* within the context of the study constructed teachers and learners as compliant subjects rather than autonomous and critically questioning individuals.

This study demonstrates that Foucault's (1926-1984) theories, methods and the model constructed for this study are respectively relevant, valuable and effective when investigating power in intersubjective assessment. Foucault's suggestions for genealogical inquiry have enabled a perspective of "different things" that exist within the notion of intersubjective assessment. It has revealed points of "fragility", possibilities for resistance and openings for change within the practice of intersubjective assessment.

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Figure 1: “Four angles of scrutiny: Reproduced from Harwood (2000: 5)

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

This genealogical analysis is presented in five chapters. *Chapter One* introduces the genealogical inquiry and provides an outline of the study's aims and intentions. *Chapter Two* looks at methodological issues and devises a genealogical framework for the study. *Chapter Three*, problematizes the notion of intersubjective assessment practice through a review of the relevant literature. *Chapter Four*, conducts the empirical analysis of intersubjective assessment practices. *Chapter Five* serves as a conclusion to the study, revisiting some of the arguments made in the study, reflecting on the processes underpinning this investigation and commenting on the value of the genealogical approach for the study of the notion of intersubjective assessment. Detailed descriptions of the contents of respective chapters are also presented.

CHAPTER ONE

GENEALOGICAL ANALYSIS AS A PROJECT

In this study, I conduct a genealogical analysis of intersubjective assessment practices. With the help of Foucault's (1926-1984) genealogical insights, I set out to examine the nature of productive power and its effects on individuals within the realm of intersubjective assessment practice. This chapter opens with a biographical section (A) in which I sketch the personal, professional and political formation of myself as author of this thesis. Included in this discussion are the key factors which have provided the impetus for my project on intersubjective assessment practices in South Africa. The subsequent section provides, in a linear manner, a description of the global shift in assessment from the "objective" to the "intersubjective" view. My intention is to show how the "birth" of the intersubjective view of assessment has been positioned as progressive or superior to the objective view of assessment that preceded it. In a sense, I tell "a story of victory" in assessment. I then show, through a history from one winner to the next, a story I wish to problematize. The conceptualisation of the "new" assessment perspective is viewed in the light of Foucault's genealogical philosophies. I go on to justify the need for genealogical attention within the field of Intersubjective assessment. The chapter closes with section C, where I provide an outline of the aims and intentions of my genealogical framework. In these sections (A, B and C) therefore, I present a case to challenge the new grand narrative of intersubjective assessment by way of Foucault's genealogical philosophies and his concept of the "specific intellectual".

SECTION A

INTRODUCTION

“The work of an intellectual is not to shape others’ political will; it is, through the analyses that he carries out in his own field, to question over and over again what is postulated as self-evident, to disturb people’s mental habits, the way they do and think things, to dissipate what is familiar and accepted, to re-examine rules and institutions...to participate in the formation of a political will...”

(Foucault, 1988: 265)

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

“The first important task in studying the intellectual contribution of a writer is the reconstruction of the author’s biography, not only as regards his practical activity, but also and above all as regards his intellectual activity.”

(Gramsci, 1971: 382 – 383)

Over the six years in which I have been working on this thesis, I have increasingly realized that this is also a story of my own struggle with power, my own journey. By exploring the practices of intersubjective assessment from the inside and the outside, I was inadvertently also exploring issues of power and resistance which were deeply personal in their origin. Insight into my personal story is therefore necessary to an understanding of this study. I agree with Gramsci’s (1971) view which is cited above: if the reader is provided with an outline of my interests and experiences, he/she can then better understand how these elements may have colored my vision of the world and the

research I have conducted. In this section I therefore provide a biographical sketch of the personal, professional and political formation of myself as author of this thesis.

During the period of my life as a researcher, there were many important other aspects of my life which I believe define “who I am”. While undertaking this research, I wore many professional hats: as an educator, an “OBE-consultant” a tutor on the B Ed (Honours) at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, and a “Method Consultant” on the FET textbook publication team for Shutter and Shooter in Pietermaritzburg. These different “hats” are integral components of the complexity and uniqueness of “who I am”: I am able to see the world from several points of view, having worked in various roles. These perspectives have provided inspiration for my work, as well as the basis for the unique slant I bring to this research.

An important event has intersected with all of my roles discussed above: South Africa’s adoption of a new outcomes-based curriculum (C2005) aimed at transforming its historically flawed education system. Like many South African teachers who have taught within the previous racially-based education system, I was eager for relief from the prejudices and inequalities it had imposed for so long. I therefore welcomed the promise of the democratic transformation of education through the new outcomes-based curriculum. As an educator, I accepted its attractive philosophy without question and soon became excited about transforming my own practices.

During the inception period of C2005, I was fortunate enough to be able to attend several training sessions. These were aimed at equipping educators with the skills and knowledge that were essential to the implementation of the new curriculum. My curiosity was particularly roused by the reactions of teachers to their new roles as curriculum developers and I saw in my own experiences an opportune moment for research. I followed this impulse and subsequently started a Master’s degree in which I explored teachers’ roles as curriculum developers in C2005. Throughout the period of this study, I took note that assessment remained one of the most talked about national issues in education. On the occasions that I reviewed the literature on educational assessment in

South Africa, it showed that it had taken on a certain importance in schools since the introduction of C2005, to the point that the very word was saturated with associations of formality, anxiety, ritual and impending doom. I felt strongly about exploring this supposedly problematic area within the outcomes-based approach, in a doctoral study. Such plans materialized in 2002.

One of the specific events which led me to begin my doctorate was my working on a Learning Programme project with an interdisciplinary team from “C” High School. The second of these, was my involvement in Further Education and Training (FET) text-book development with Shutter and Shooter, a publishing company in Kwa-Zulu Natal. My role in the school project involved leading and managing the process of Outcomes-based Learning Programme development with Grades eight and nine teachers. In such a task, I was required to coordinate certain processes of materials development using the outcomes-based techniques and methods. In the publishing context, I took on a role as outcomes-based method consultant which required my reviewing of manuscripts contributed by six authors towards the development of FET textbooks. Two authors were school principals, and the remaining four worked as Education Specialists for the Kwa-Zulu Natal Department of Education.

Although there was a certain amount of resistance to the new approach by a small number of individuals in both contexts, work on the respective projects was generally exciting. On a personal level, I found the work highly inspiring as it tapped significantly into my own creativity and innovativeness. From my interaction with colleagues and the authors alike, I gauged that they were clearly optimistic about the promise for transformation offered by the OBE philosophy. They appeared enthusiastic and stimulated by their early engagement with the respective projects. Unfortunately, these high spirits were dampened when certain realities set in.

In the very early stages of the development of both programs it became clear that very little was known and understood about assessment by educators as well as authors. Ongoing work within the respective projects left both teachers and authors realising that

their lack of knowledge and understanding of the outcomes-based assessment philosophy, was seriously disempowering their attempts at developing curriculum materials. Given the problematic South African educational context, this was not surprising. It was acknowledged by both teams, that an understanding of assessment was essential to the success of the respective projects, and that very little progress could be made without their immediate training. In effecting change, a particular individual stands out in my memory as highly proactive: Mr. “D”, Principal of “C” High School and one of the six authors who were responsible for developing the content of the FET text-books, occupied a prominent and highly influential position within both teams.

In the school context, as Principal of “C” High School (at which I was teaching), Mr “D’s” role was that of overseer of the development of learning programmes at all levels of the implementation of C2005. He was aware of the fact that I had just completed a Masters degree in which I had focused on teachers’ roles as curriculum designers within the C2005 context. I recall several of our tea-break discussions, during which he showed a deep interest in the outcomes of my research. We spoke at length about one of these outcomes: the poor training that was provided for educators and its negative impact on the implementation of C2005. In the light of the insights I had shared with him, Mr. “D” acknowledged the necessity of the school’s embarking on an ‘Outcomes-based assessment’ training programme. This, as he conveyed in some of our discussions, was crucial to the success of learning programme development at the school. He was also able to convince the Shutter and Shooter project leader to embark on a similar programme of training. He suggested that this training could be conducted in conjunction with the development of the respective sections of the textbooks. Using his influential position within both projects, Mr. “D” recommended me as *trainer* for both teams. He felt that my insights on the outcomes-based curricular approach could be put to use, in both projects. I agreed to lead the training in the respective programmes. This decision started what became for me a proliferation of personal and professional activities in assessment.

In the school context, I was required to train the staff in the outcomes-based approach to assessment. I did this in several workshops which were held on a monthly basis. In the

publishing context, several Saturdays were set aside for similar workshops. In view of the kind of responsibility that was placed on my shoulders, I began an intensive process of self-training so that I could become confident enough to train my colleagues in the school context, as well as the authors in the publishing context. By the time I had started my respective programmes of training and work-shopping, I was reading intensively and expansively on the topic of outcomes-based assessment.

With each workshop, my understanding of issues grew, feeding back into and thereby strengthening my previous knowledge. With time, I began facilitating several similar workshops in assessment in other settings. Nearby schools invited me to conduct training workshops for them. I also served as a consultant for other text-book projects, engaging in assessment-related queries telephonically. I was asked to conduct a series of workshops for learners enrolled for the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (P.G.C.E) at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. I also assisted in the training of teachers within the regional clusters formed by the Department of Education. This training experience led to my gaining further insight into assessment in addition to other aspects of the new curriculum. With time, educators within these circles started to believe that I had “expert” knowledge about the outcomes-based philosophy. I recall the words of a particular colleague who would often approach me with his problems in assessment. He would say: *“Cind, please help me with this cos’ you’re the expert”*. Perceptions of a similar nature, which were reflected by others within the various training environments, inadvertently led to my believing that I was an “authority” on outcomes-based assessment.

I was sensitive to the issues individuals raised about assessment, because I had personally encountered many of them in my own practice. I spent much of my personal time looking for possible solutions in the literature, often using my position as educator to test the new methods and techniques. I experienced a sense of frustration because the literature on this topic, particularly in the South African context, was so thin. However, what little research I did encounter, heightened my curiosity further. It was thus a natural progression for me to use the opportunity of doing a doctorate to try to explore some of the issues in assessment. I felt passionate about making a contribution to the sparse knowledge that

currently existed on this exciting, albeit problematic, dimension of the new South African curriculum. I also believed that my “expert” knowledge and understanding about outcomes-based assessment could work to my advantage in a doctoral study.

When I formalized my undertaking of a doctoral study, my initial intention was to focus on the issues in implementation of the Grade nine “Common Tasks of Assessment” (CTA’s) as these nationally designed assessment programmes appeared to be an area of great concern for teachers and learners. The *Assessment Guidelines for Language, Literacy and Communication* (DoE, 2002: 3) defines the concept of *Common Tasks for Assessment* as:

...various forms of assessment activities, which may be set nationally, provincially, (sic) (in) districts or cluster (s) for each learning area...

In such a study, I considered investigating the management and implementation of the CTA Instrument as a tool for assessing Grade nine learners in selected public secondary schools in Pietermaritzburg. I later realized that in such a project I would give more focus to the technicalities of implementation, and less on the social aspects of assessment. After discussing this issue with Prof. Ken Harley, who supervised the initial stage of the study, I realized that in our era of enormous change that is most prominently driven by technology and globalization, I needed to focus more broadly on people - their ideas, their fears, and the capacity to work together for a different future. I was also aware from my interaction with the literature, that there is much concern about power and assessment. The argument is that the proposed forms of assessment (such as that in outcomes-based approaches) reflect democratic ideals, yet could open up strong channels for power and control (for example, Broadfoot, 1996). I also took note that very little research energy has been channelled in this direction in the South African context.

Further investigation into the literature, reflected the need for a stronger research focus on the “social purposes” of assessment (Murphy & Torrance, 1988). As Hargreaves (1988), cited in Murphy & Torrance (1988: 9) says:

There is virtually no discussion within the new assessment initiatives of the social purposes of the curriculum of the essential knowledge and experience to which all learners are entitled.

Murphy and Torrance (1988: 9) agree with Hargreaves' (1988) point when they say that:

...it is the most serious deficiency in the assessment literature of the past 40 years or so, where often the discussion has focused on the technical qualities or deficiencies, of various assessment methods without paying attention at all to the much more serious educational questions which subsume them."

This study responds to this gap in the literature. I wanted to develop this angle of research in the South African context, but to do something further. I wished to stand on the shoulders of those that have gone before me and to draw attention to the way teachers and learners may have been constrained, oppressed and restricted in their development and aspirations. I found the need to clarify the mechanisms by which systems of power are maintained and sustained, at the level of assessment in South Africa.

I chose to conduct the study at "C" High School, where I was teaching at the time. "C" High School can be described as a well resourced and popular institution. The average number of learners in each class was thirty two at the time. The participants in the study were three teachers in the learning areas of Maths, Languages (English Home Language) and Arts and Culture, as well as their respective learners. I involved participants who were more experienced and known to me, both personally and professionally. Three participants were therefore identified as teachers who had at least two years of teaching experience and some knowledge of C2005 and its assessment requirements. Although the initial idea was to present an analysis of intersubjective assessment from the basis of varying knowledge structures, only the English and Arts and Culture learning areas are presented. Shortly after the study had begun, the Mathematics teacher encountered certain personal problems and asked to be excluded. Thus, only the teachers of English and Arts and Culture, Jill and Mary (pseudonyms), sustained a role of prominence in this study.

Although my choice of theoretical frameworks for the study shifted considerably during the course of the study, I remained fixed on the idea of underpinning the work by values

of social justice and equality. I was particularly motivated the belief that all people are of equal worth and should be treated with respect and fairness. The problem that is identified in the South African context, where inequality in social and educational backgrounds is extreme, is that the majority of learners may be disadvantaged by their backgrounds and constrained from acquiring the recognition rules of the new assessment practice. The implication is that current inequalities may be exacerbated. These values led me to begin my research into the intersubjective assessment practices at “C” High School. My study held promise for challenging a system that appeared to open up strong avenues for power and control. It was therefore important that I located this work within a theoretical framework, which dealt with issues of social justice and equality.

The choice of a suitable theoretical framework for the study was a huge source of tension, on a personal level. Initially I considered employing a framework derived from the ideas of Bernstein (1977). The idea was to look at the effects (in terms of power) of the change of emphasis from objective methods of assessment as used traditionally, to the new intersubjective methods advocated by C2005. Bernstein’s (1977) theoretical claims about social class, socialization and pedagogy provided me with a language of description that would have been invaluable for this study for framing research questions, for informing empirical work and data collection, and for analyzing data. Although Bernstein’s work (1977) offered a promising framework to explore the articulation between control and power in assessment in South Africa, I just did not “gel” well enough with his ideas. My subsequent interaction with research produced within the South African research context, offered further options. The perceptions of Chisholm (2004), cited in Wilmot’s (2005) study of current work done in the South Africa scene, prompted my choice of a genealogical approach.

In her study, Wilmot (2005) speaks of the endeavours undertaken to transform assessment in South Africa. She argues that despite the energy behind the moves to transform assessment, research suggests a rather bleak picture of change. She highlights the results of research presented in *Changing Class* (2004), a book based on South African education. This author notes in particular the alarming evidence of a clear lack of

change, arguing that many “new” and “innovative” assessment practices often seem to resemble “traditional” assessment habits. Wilmot (2005:2) cites Chisholm (2004), the editor of *Changing Class*, who believes that research should not be aimed at presenting “a simple balance sheet of achievement and failure”; a scenario often presented in national progress reports since 1994. What Chisholm believes should be presented is “a multifaceted picture of change and continuity” (Chisholm, 2004, cited in Wilmot, 2005:2). The implication here is that if South Africans wish to strengthen their young democracy, they need to find ways to understand and resolve the complexities, tensions and challenges that they face.

These insights inspired me to make a contribution to the “*multifaceted picture of change and continuity*” (Chisholm, 2004, cited in Wilmot, 2005:2) much needed in South Africa. A perceptive strategy to approach such a task was offered by Michel Foucault’s (1926-1984) concept of *Genealogy*. Foucault’s ideas in this area suggested how I could, by challenging the truth about the new conception of assessment, contribute to the much needed “picture of change” in South Africa. A move into Foucault’s way of understanding power, promised a productive way of thinking about making changes in teaching, learning and assessment. Foucault’s ideas in *Genealogy* came across as vital to the kind of contributions I wanted to make to South African research. I therefore opted to use a Foucauldian genealogical approach to analyse intersubjective assessment practices at “C” High School.

As many other doctoral candidates would readily testify, the course of such a study is rarely a smooth one. Similarly, I encountered several setbacks along the way. Very close to the end of my collection of data, my personal circumstances changed drastically due to certain events in my professional life. I accepted a lectureship at the University of Johannesburg, a decision which seriously impacted both on my family life and my research project. For one, it led to my being separated from my family for a period of seven months - a period during which I commuted weekly between Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg. It also naturally meant selling our home of sixteen years and starting a whole new life in Johannesburg. To compound matters, for my two school-going

children, it meant being uprooted from their familiar environments and re-adjusting to schooling requirements in a new province. Despite these difficulties, we braced ourselves for change and went ahead with our plans. Although the family issues eased with the physical relocation, the impact of the change on my studies was enormous.

In anticipating the risks of my move, I feel retrospectively that I gave less consideration than I should have, to my research project. One of the key issues related to my interaction with my supervisor, Dr. Wayne Hugo, who was based in Pietermaritzburg. Supervision became limited to telephone calls and e-mail contacts. I also had to relinquish the invaluable peer-support offered by the Spencer Foundation, through regular meetings held at the Edgewood campus of the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. To compound matters, I felt isolated from the school context, which had been “home” for almost twenty years. I now wore a new professional hat: that of a *lecturer*. Thus, my new environment, although exciting in so many ways, had suddenly turned me into an “outsider” in my own research. Not surprisingly, the emotional state I was in at the time left me with negative perceptions of my new “outsider” status in the research.

In keeping with the findings of Bonner & Tolhurst (2002), who are cited in Breen (2007: 163), I believed that by conducting research in the school at which I taught, my role as an “insider” would offer more positive implications for my study. On account of being a member of staff at the school for several years, I felt that I had gained a superior understanding of the school’s culture. Another point I felt would work in my favour, was that I could interact naturally with individuals at different levels of the school. I also felt that I had well established relationships with the participants in my research - a factor which would facilitate mutual understanding. As other insider-researchers have done, for example, DeLyser (2001); Farnsworth (1996) and Harklau & Norwood (2005), as cited in Breen (2007: 163), I chose to conceptualize myself as a “co-investigator, co-learner, facilitator”, and an “advocate” of outcomes-based assessment, rather than a researcher. I concur with these authors that I did this to minimize possible gaps between myself and those participating in my research project.

I therefore cherished my position as insider, believing that my involvement with the community I had been so familiar with, could offer deeper insights. I believed that as an outsider I would have been unable to empathize, to see things from the perspective of my subjects, and would therefore miss much of the meaning of what I saw. By being an “insider” (albeit by default), I was able to imagine that the learners were my own, and in this way, empathize with them as well as the teachers in a bigger way. Thus, through my new professional course, I felt that I had lost my insider status and so put myself into a very precarious position in my own research. I did not realize at the time, that my new “outsider” status was going to help me to come to terms with some of the crucial issues that my supervisor was having difficulty conveying to me. As a general way forward with the research, my supervisor Wayne and I agreed that I needed more direct assistance. Co-supervision was the answer and fortunately, Professor Yael Shalem, was happy to take on this role. This leg of my research journey was by far my strongest: the new source of direct support created a triangle which facilitated much critical engagement and progress on my work. Moreover, the support from both academics swiftly restored my confidence as a researcher.

Professor Yael’s support stands out in my mind as a form of “rescue”: She helped me to structure a framework which helped me to locate my study more deeply within the theoretical framework I had chosen. We decided that a journey into the work of Husserl (1859-1938), Buber (1957), Habermas (1971), Merleau-Ponty (1962), and other scholars was necessary, because these philosopher’s contributions were central to the “making” of the notion of “intersubjectivity”- a conception I would later attempt to “unmake” through genealogical analysis. My supervisors advised me to deepen my reading by getting into the original texts and feeling my way through the complex way they worked rather than relying on secondary sources. This strategy turned out to be problematic: I spent months moving back and forth through complex theories on the notion of Intersubjectivity. Almost a year after beginning this theoretical journey I became anxious that I was wasting too much time writing up on issues relating to “intersubjectivity”, at the cost of the “power” issues I really wanted to develop. After discussing these tensions with Wayne, we agreed on a strategy where I would focus on the “power” issue more fully.

This involved my development of a genealogical framework, which I would use to analyse intersubjective assessment practices. This change in direction, turned out to be a highly productive endeavour. Within weeks I had a clear understanding of where my research was going. With my writing and re-writing, my confidence in applying Foucault's "methods" and analytical tools grew, generating much excitement on a personal level.

In retrospect, although I felt at the time that wading through masses of theory on *Intersubjectivity* was not a good strategy, I realise that it *did* produce positive effects for my study - it helped me to find my voice. I was cognisant from Lines' (2005) work, that different voices were bound to be present in my writing. These voices, as Lines (2005) advocates, have to be kept distinct at times and yet brought into relationship, at others. One of these includes the participants' voices, which Lines (2005: 32) appropriately defines as, "*intimate, specific to the context, personal to the participants and often emotional.*" Lines' (2005) work helped me to distinguish a second voice – an "impersonal" one he projects as necessary to denote theory. Following Lines' distinctions, a scholarly voice is used in this study, particularly in chapters that review literature. In chapters pertaining to empirical data, the voices of the participants is dominant. I agree with Lines' (2005) that separating these voices was necessary, just as much as there was the need for me to bring them into relationship – this is a third voice which I see as my own. Establishing such a voice was challenging as I repeatedly made the mistake of confusing it with the scholarly voice. Finally, through Yael's support, I became confident enough to use my own voice to create a relationship between the first and second voices. This was also facilitated by Lines' (2005) idea of reflecting upon the different voices in relation to my research purpose.

Although finding my voice was empowering in many ways, it brought relief to only some of the tensions in my study. A huge obstacle I still faced was that of dealing with my lack of neutrality. Wayne felt strongly that my self-concept of being an "authority" in assessment, might have been leading to a loss of 'objectivity'. This was particularly in terms of my making incorrect assumptions based on my prior knowledge and/or

experience of assessment. He made repeated requests for me to be more neutral during much of the earlier part of the research. At first I misunderstood what he meant by “objective” and thought that it involved a disconnection from personal feeling, opinions and prejudice. I got the impression that I needed to be detached and felt at that stage that this was an unreasonable request. I was well aware of a sustained debate in the literature relating to whether researchers within the social sciences, could ever excise all of the biases they brought into their research (DeLyser, 2001; Gerrish, 1997 and Hewitt-Taylor, 2002, cited in Breen, 2007).

I rationalized my lack of detachment by supporting the work of writers within the qualitative tradition who question whether any methodology could be independent of one’s personal knowledge and biases. For example, I found support for the views of Van Heertum (2005), who argues that objectivity is itself an ideological position, with serious implications for research. Van Heertum (2005: 5) highlights Paulo Freire’s (1998) rejection of the “oxymoron” of objective knowledge, citing this author’s views on objective knowledge:

It seems fundamental to me to clarify in the beginning that a neutral, uncommitted, and apolitical educational practice does not exist.

The idea central to Freire’s argument, is that the very nature of teaching and research requires one to take a position. Van Heertum (2005) argues that separating education from its basic politics dehumanizes learners and favours the interests of neo-liberalism. I found support for Freire’s (1998) argument, because it offered a “safety-net” for me. I felt protected by his idea that no matter how hard I tried, it would be difficult to completely eliminate the prejudices and presumptions that I brought into my research.

Despite my being able to support my personal “biased” position through the literature, I knew that I could not ignore the ideas proposed in counter-arguments. One such argument, on the dangers of bias in research, is presented by Kanuha (2000), who is cited in Breen (2007: 7) saying:

...for each of the ways that being an insider researcher enhances the depth and breadth of understanding to a population that may not be accessible to a non-native

scientist, questions about objectivity, reflexivity, and authenticity of a research project are raised.

Kanuha's (2000) point alerts us to the effect one's biased position could have on the authenticity of one's research. I realised that I needed to assume a more critical stance in the research. However, it was only through my engagement with Foucault's work much later in the study, that I came to understand the implications of my lack of a critical distance.

At this time in my career, I revelled in the idea that my colleagues looked up to me and saw me as a leader in the OBE approach - an "expert" that would guide them to new understanding in intersubjective assessment. I believed I knew more than they did about assessment and enjoyed my "so-called" status. From my interaction with Foucault's work at this time of the project, I found that he had spent much time particularly thinking about this situation. It would seem that the theories of Marx, Nietzsche, Freud and Sartre who question the idea of the "intellectual" had an influence on his thought (Foucault, 1988: x-xii). Foucault (1988: xiv) sustained an interest in this aspect to the extent that he became known as a *"figure responsible for breaking with the totalizing ambition of the universal intellectual"*. Foucault's (1988) work reveals his deep interest in the matter of how authority is produced. He was concerned with the question of how a discourse becomes legitimate in the eye of the public. What interested him was the way certain individuals became part of this discourse and spoke in the voice of authority.

The above concerns became the backdrop against which Foucault challenged the role of the "intellectual" in society. He did this to the extent of being seen as:

...the figure who opted for the anonymity of the 'masked philosopher' simultaneously redefined, through penetrating critical activity, what it meant to be an intellectual in the postmodern world by attempting to transcend the constraints of established political doctrine (Foucault, 1988: x).

Foucault's (1988) work re-defines the role of the "intellectual", to that which goes beyond our "established" understandings and perceptions of such an individual. Kritzman's introduction, in *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings*,

1977-1984 (1988), provides further insight on Foucault's re-conceptualization of the role of the "intellectual". Kritzman conveys the impression that Foucault favoured the idea of a "specific intellectual". In Foucault's (1988: xiv) words, such a conception of the "intellectual" portrays the researcher as:

...one who no longer speaks as master of truth and justice and is content, nevertheless, to simply discover the truth and power of privileges.

Foucault (1988: xii) writes further about the intellectual as one who is:

...no longer commissioned to play the role of advisor to the masses and critic of ideological content, but rather to become one capable of providing instruments of analysis...

Foucault (1988: xiv) suggested that the role of the intellectual was to scrutinise the relationship between truth and power within an association, rather than be "a spokesperson for truth". Foucault's re-conceptualisation of the role of the "intellectual", led me rethink some of the "roles" I believed were my responsibility at the time.

On reflection of my earlier role as "OBE trainer", I realised that I had indeed become a "spokes-person" for outcomes-based assessment. Foucault's ideas discredited my role as vanguard of intersubjective assessment. Through my readings of Foucault, I realised that my "guru status" was one I had to shed quickly if I was intent on doing justice to my role as genealogist. Foucault (1988: xiv) projects the role of the intellectual as "*not to shape and determine the collective political will from a metacritical perspective*". In further consideration of Foucault's ideas on "the intellectual", I realised that my particular "position" at that time contradicted my role as genealogist. By adopting a role as "expert" or "guru" in assessment, I had without realising it, been working against the role Foucault envisages of a researcher/intellectual involved in a genealogical project. I was contradicting my genealogical role by continuing to see the new way of doing assessment as the "correct" way to assess learning. Rather than "aspiring to guru status", in Foucault's (1988: xiv) terms, I should have assumed the role of "specific intellectual" – a role in which I would be "cognisant of the discursive operations of the institution".

In retrospect, I saw the sense my supervisor Wayne made when he repeatedly asked me to detach myself from the research context - naturally it was not that I needed to excise any personal feelings about intersubjective assessment, but that I needed to step away from the dominant worldview of intersubjective assessment as the “right way” to evaluate learning. I understood clearly at this more established stage of my research, that to do justice to the genealogical analysis I had committed myself to I had to, follow Foucault’s (1988: 265) advice and “*question over and over again what is postulated as self-evident*” about intersubjective assessment. Instead of standing as an advocate for its ideas, I should have attempted to gain a critical distance about assessment it so that I could challenge its philosophies and principles. I needed to gain a greater distance, in order to disturb what people believed was the “truth” regarding assessment.

I acknowledge that my personal experiences and circumstances have largely influenced the course of this research project. Due to my position as insider-researcher, I began this study as more of an “advocate” of outcomes-based assessment, rather than a “real” researcher as suggested by Bonner & Tolhurst (2002), in Breen (2007: 163). I concede that my lack of neutrality could have led to my missing of data that might have seemed so natural to the context of assessment, that they became invisible to me. Additionally, my preconceived interpretations of outcomes-based assessment, as the “right way” to evaluate learning, may have blinded me to more accurate interpretations of the discourse. In retrospect, my trajectory is responsible for the development of my values and inclinations; for my positioning and ideology, and for the philosophical conflicts I experienced. It is responsible for the questions I asked and for the causes I fought.

Although my new “outsider” status had automatically created a “distance”, I realized that there was more on my part that was needed. Clearly, it was naïve to think that my minimal exposure to the research context would automatically reduce or eliminate my bias. I was also mindful of the voices in the literature which question whether bias may ever be truly eliminated. Thus, from a more informed perspective, for the first time in years I was able to willingly detach myself from my old “expert” role, and in Schön’s (1992: 155) terms, develop a “feel for the configuration”. In other words, I started to get a

clearer sense of the actual issues I had chosen to come to grips with. The distance helped me to look afresh at South Africa's assessment policies in a more critical way. Thus, my status as outsider did possibly offer more intuitive interpretations than I otherwise would have expected. Despite my new understanding, I believe that my being an insider offered me an important perspective to learn from, even if it may not have ensured complete trustworthiness.

The various decisions made on this research journey moved me into different spheres. I moved from the sphere of my own practice into that of scholarship. As I moved between these two worlds, the purpose of my journey changed: I commenced the study by trying to support assessment change initiatives. This purpose changed along the way. In view of the apparent gaps in the literature, and with the potential of serving a more worthwhile research purpose, my research concern changed to that of investigating the path of productive power in the sphere of intersubjective assessment practices. My intention was to explore the discourses permeated by power in intersubjective assessment practice.

On the whole, the approach I adopt to this research is multifarious. I have combined several theoretical contributions, research techniques, and empirical zones to create a *mosaic* effect of the world in which I could seek answers. Such a choice of research design inevitably widens the avenues for critique of my project. I risk the chance of my theoretical work being viewed as either too vague or too presumptuous. In terms of the empirical work, some elements of the mosaic may be seen as too bulky and others too slight. In spite of these factors, perhaps the most important critique concerns whether the "mosaic" does reasonably fulfil expectations.

I acknowledge that some of the motivating force behind this work comes from my own anger and frustrations, and my own passions. This is not an apology for *feeling* about my research; actually I agree with other researchers that passion is vital to any research. For example, in dealing with emotional issues in her study, Jarzabkowski (2001: 126) found agreement with Luttrell (2000) that "*at its core, ethnographic research is creative,*

inventive, emotionally charged, and uneasy.” Jarzabkowski (2001) offers her own view that:

...this kind of research is not only emotion-laden but it also entails the performance of emotional labour, and it should likewise be acknowledged. Recognition and acceptance of emotional labour as part of the research process will ultimately assist researchers to analyse the research experience and their data better. More importantly, it will help them to cope with feelings of ‘being compromised’ in the field while working closely with participants.

I agree with the above writers that one’s emotions can be used to one’s advantage especially in the face of great adversity. From my personal experiences in this research there were many times when I came to understand things only after being angry and frustrated for not initially being able to.

I admit that in this journey I am not a neutral observer, trying to construct an objective reality. As is inevitable in such a piece of work, there is much of me in here. Although I tried to keep my research role separate from my day to day commitments, I found this an impossible venture - life gets in the way. Whilst I am writing as an academic researcher, I also write (among other things) as a partner, and as a mother. As a partner, I am aware that one needs to understand others, and to give in order to feel fulfilled oneself. As a mother to two teenagers, I face the future with aspirations for their welfare, as well as some anxiety. The work in this thesis also brings together these fundamental drives.

On reflection, the manner in which this research has unfolded, may be comparable to the practices of a “designer”, as discussed in Schön’s (1989, 1992) work. In his writings on understanding reflective practices, Schön (1992: 133) uses the metaphor of the architectural designer stating that:

A designer sees, moves and sees again...“the designer sees what is ‘there’ in some representation of the site, draws in relation to it, and sees what he or she has drawn, thereby informing further designing.

Schön’s (1992: 135) work points to the designer’s discovery of characteristics that work together to create a “feel for” the “configuration” of one’s project.

In his work, *Educating the Reflective Practitioner* (1987: 17), Schön cites Dewey's (1974) view as follows:

...a learner cannot be taught what he needs to know but has to see on his own behalf and in his own way the relations between means and methods employed and results achieved.

The essence of this argument is that “fuller understanding” is something that cannot be taught but has to come to understanding by self-discovery. This has relevance for me on a personal level. As designer of this thesis, I have metaphorically drawn, seen what I have drawn, and made discoveries. I have struggled for or a “feel for”, the “configuration” with which I have worked, and I candidly share these with the reader. I have grown to appreciate that a “fuller understanding” goes beyond developing a clearer vision of what is reflected by the study. Schön (1992: 133) has helped me to see that it also involves the identification of “patterns” and “giving these meanings beyond themselves”.

SECTION B

SHIFTING PARADIGMS IN ASSESSMENT

The literature reflects that assessment has undergone a global paradigm shift in terms of its philosophy, structure, and contents (Gipps, 1994; Black and Broadfoot, 1982; Gipps and Murphy, 1994; Birenbaum & Dochy, 1996; Goodwin, 1997 and others). Gipps (1994: 1) summarises this move as a shift from a “culture of testing to a culture of assessment”. New philosophical understandings of human cognition influenced a body of criticism against “objective” assessment methods (Birenbaum & Dochy, 1996). The core of this critique was that the “testing” model underpinned by behaviourism, was inappropriate and inadequate for assessing learning. Gipps (1994: 1) reflects this point in her work as follows:

These new forms and range of purposes for assessment mean that the major traditional model underpinning assessment theory, the psychometric model, is no longer adequate, hence the paradigm shift.

Dwyer, who writes in Broadfoot et al. (1990: 23), speaks below about the effects of positivism on assessment:

Logical positivism of ‘dustbowl empiricism’ is no longer seen as an appropriate paradigm for assessment- the days when assessment people could say, “if it predicts it must be okay” are gone forever.

Dwyer attributes the “growing disaffection” with the traditional forms of assessment, to the principles advocated by the positivist paradigm. Hers is among those voices in the literature, which reflect a consciousness of the limitations of the behaviourist mode of testing.

This view has sustained support in recent educational research. A mass of recent empirical work concurs with the view that assessment practices which follow the principles of behaviourism focus on the product and ignore the process of learning, thereby de-contextualising learning (e.g. Black & Harrison, 2001; Barootchi & Keshavarez, 2002; Orsmond et al., 2002; Coffey, 2003; Lee & Gavine, 2003; Waddell, 2004; Stiggins & Chappuis, 2005; James, 2006; Lambert & Lines, 2000; Wilson, 2005; Gardner, 2006; Earl, 2003). On account of their belief that learning is an active social process, which builds on previous knowledge, experience and skills, scholars have drawn strong links between assessment and the constructivist model (e.g. Black et al., 2006; Wilson, 2005; Banks, 2005; Clarke, 2005; James, 2006; Giebelhaus & Bowman, 2002). The constructivist approach to teaching, learning and assessing was promoted in the classroom environment because of the perception that it recognises the highly complex context of learning (Black & Wilam, 1998b; James, 2006; Roos & Hamilton, 2005; Popham, 2008; Wiliam, 2007/2008). Earlier opinions in the literature are discussed next because they point to the limitations of the objective mode of assessment, and offer specific solutions to these problems (e.g. Stiggins, 1997; Gipps, 1994, Broadfoot et. al, 1990, Shephard, 2000 and others).

Shephard's (2000: 11) argument, for example, provides her conception of a more effective system of evaluating learning:

Classroom assessment must change in two fundamentally important ways. First, its form and content must be changed to better represent important thinking and problem solving skills in each of the disciplines. Second, the way that assessment is used in classrooms and how it is regarded by teachers and learners must change.

Shephard believes that the content of assessments should match subject matter. As is apparent, opinions about the way assessment should change have shown a greater tolerance for the complexities and ambiguities that are associated with more meaningful contexts of assessment.

It is apparent that more sensitivity was being shown to the context, content and theories guiding assessment use. For example, Stiggins (1997) speaks of the earlier behaviourist influence on assessment approaches and the theory of knowledge that should replace it. Stiggins (1997: 37) argues, on the basis of Skinner's (1974) behaviourist ideas, that learning was traditionally seen as a "*function of schedules of rewards and punishments.*" Through the offering of rewards, teachers could encourage learners to repeat productive behaviour. Furthermore, by administering punishment they could reduce unproductive academic behaviour (Stiggins, 1997: 37). He makes a point of how this theory of knowledge was accepted by society as "unquestioned truth". As he explains, the emerging trend was that *testing* became the main mode to activate these rewards and punishments (Stiggins, 1997). In his critique of these trends, Stiggins (1997: 37) cites psychologist Kohn's (1993) concept of the "seductive simplicity" of the behaviourist thinking. As reflected in the work of Stiggins (1997: 37), Kohn's conclusion, from a comprehensive review of decades of research, was that the use of extrinsic sources of motivation, such as stars, grades and trophies devalued learning. He felt that they created the sense that things were not worth being learnt in their own right. The point highlighted, is that the behaviourist theory of knowledge, which advocated the use of grades as rewards and punishments, did not motivate learning in productive ways but actually had the opposite effect.

In their critique, Birenbaum & Dochy (1996) point to the educational goals within the two eras, highlighting the kinds of assessments that have been implemented to achieve those goals. To advance their argument, Birenbaum & Dochy (1996: 5) cite Freire's (1972) "banking concept" characterisation of traditional assessment:

Narration (with teacher as narrator) leads the learners to memorise mechanically the narrated content. Worse still, it turns them into 'containers', into receptacles to be filled by the teacher. The more completely he fills the receptacles, the better a teacher he is. The more meekly the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better learners they are. Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the learners are depositories and the teacher the depositor. Instead of communication, the teacher issues communiqués and 'makes deposits' which the

learners patiently receive, memorise and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the learners extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits.

Birenbaum & Dochy (1996) were of the opinion that the 'banking' conception of teaching proposed an assessment approach that focused predominantly on the testing of basic skills. In their view, such skills would be acquired through "*tedious drill and practice experiences, rehearsals and repetitions of what was taught in class or a textbook*" (Birenbaum & Dochy, 1996: 5). Due to the high stakes ascribed to test scores, the work required a high level of standardization and was guided by the "demand for objectivity" (Birenbaum & Dochy, 1996: 5). Birenbaum & Dochy (1996: 6) conclude that the assessment system that developed in such an environment gave rise to a "testing culture". Their point against the traditional testing system was its tendency to under-assess learners' higher-order thinking skills, neglecting other equally important skills.

Genishi (1997) forwards a critique which builds on the above writers' ideas. Genishi argues that in the objective approach, to assure the objectivity of the score, a "distance" was required between the assessors and assessed. The assessor was therefore seen as a detached "eye" who maintained a distance from the individual assessed (Genishi 1997: 38). From this perspective, the objective system gave rise to hierarchical relationships between teachers and learners. Such an environment was seen as unfavourable to learning.

Murphy & Torrance (1988: 7) point out that the traditional emphasis on testing advocated "*procedures that were totally divorced from the educational process and setting to which they were to relate.*" They write of Holt's (1969) "unbridled opposition" to the "tyranny of testing":

I do not think that testing is necessary, or useful, or even excusable. At best, testing does more harm than good; at worst, it hinders, distorts, and corrupts the learning process....our chief concern should not be to improve testing, but to find ways to eliminate it (Murphy & Torrance, 1988: 8).

They conclude that “test pollution” became a serious problem as teachers were accused of teaching to the test and teaching the test (Murphy & Torrance, 1988: 8). It would seem that the behaviourist approach was opposed largely because it focused on the products of learning, and disregarded the process of learning. Shephard (2001) summarises these sentiments, arguing that the behaviourist view had atomised learning by its objective system of measuring it.

Several critics have written of the need for change in the way assessment was conceived. For example, Broadfoot (1993) points to the need for a new vision for assessment where learning itself, rather than simply the measurement of the learning, is the central purpose. As conveyed in Herbert (2001: p. x), assessment required a “wholesome transition”:

The design and implementation of alternative modes of assessment will entail nothing less than a wholesome transition from what we call a testing culture to an assessment culture....the observable differences in the form, the data, and the conduct of standardised testing and its alternatives are in no way superficial matters or mere surface features. They derive from radical differences in underlying conceptions of mind and of the evaluation process itself.

As the above international trends show, assessment underwent a major transition – moving away from viewing knowledge as “fixed and objective”, to it being “*non-fixed and dependent upon the social and cultural context*” (Birenbaum & Dochy, 1996: 6). In these movements, the concept of assessment itself appears to have been re-conceptualised.

Goodwin (1997b: 164) writes of the word ‘assessment’ being derived from a Latin verb *assidere*, which means “to sit beside”:

...at the very simplest level, assessment is the ability to see children, to perceive what they can do in the hope of understanding how they learn. Observing children, formally or informally, provides teachers with a great deal of information about them, so much so that the necessity of collecting, recording and organising information eventually leads us to filter out extraneous details in the

field of our vision in order to discern patterns in their behaviour that help us to plan our teaching

The idea is conveyed that in order to reveal what children really know it is necessary to be “close” to them, perhaps even moving ‘alongside’ them as they pursue their challenges of learning. Thus, unlike the objective perspective’s concept of a necessary “distance” between “assessor” and “assessed”, new theories of intelligence and learning have influenced a view of a “closer” and “alongside” relationship between these individuals.

In recent years several individuals have worked towards reshaping assessment from “mathematical and statistical models” to “educational and psychological” models (Kulieke, et al. 1990). The following theorists and their contributions to the new “culture of assessment” are cited as examples in the work of Kulieke, et al. (1990): Grant Wiggins for his work on the “portfolio” and “day-to-day” assessment and Howard Gardner for his work on a theory of multiple abilities, talents and skills which he believed were neglected by the “objective” approach. Thus, the evolving approach, based on the cognitive learning theory emphasised the multidimensional nature of learning (Birenbaum & Dochy, 1996: 6).

As Goodwin’s (1997) work informs us, the alternative perspective is not “anti-objective” or purely subjective, but it is a “contrasting conception of the traditional relationship between the assessor and the assessed” (1997: 38). While the traditional view of learning portrayed learners as “*empty vessels or tabula rasa to be filled with knowledge*”, the new conception sees them as “*thinkers and constructors*” of their own understandings of the reality around them (Goodwin, 1997: 38). Goodwin (1997: 38) uses Bruner’s (1996) concept of “intersubjectivity” to describe the new form of assessment:

...the human ability to understand the minds of others, whether through language, gesture or other means... It is not just words that make this possible, but our capacity to grasp the role of the settings in which words, acts and gestures occur. We are the intersubjective species par excellence. It is this that permits us to ‘negotiate’ meanings when words go astray.

Bruner's (1996) view is that the search for intersubjectivity and negotiation of meaning takes place between teacher and learner in a "sub-community of interaction". In such a conception the assessment itself is believed to take many forms, usually "embedded in instruction".

Birenbaum & Dochy (1996: 7), who are in support of Bruner's (1996) argument, draw further on Freire's (1972: 73) concept of the value of dialogue in learning:

...through dialogue, the teacher-of-learners and learners-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-learner with learner-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the one who teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with learners, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow.

From this platform the idea is suggested that within the "intersubjective" approach, learning happens through interactive process of meaning-making between teacher and learner.

The intersubjective conception of assessment suggests radical changes in terms of learner-teacher relationships. Birenbaum & Dochy (1996: 7) depict this as a movement in which the learner moves from being a:

...passive, powerless, often oppressed, subject who is mystified by the process to an active participant who shares responsibility in the process, practices self-evaluation, reflection, and collaboration, and conducts a continuous dialogue with the teacher.

It is apparent that the intersubjective conception changes the teachers' role: he/she becomes a mentor or a coach who provides opportunities for the learners to use what they already know in order to understand new material. This approach differs from the objective perspective in that the assessor lives in the same universe (the same educational space) as the person being observed and assessed (Birenbaum & Dochy, 1996: 7).

The above ideas and descriptions of the "intersubjective" vision of assessment project it as more broad-based, relevant to real life, and process oriented, than the previous

“objective” system. Birenbaum & Dochy (1996: 7), offer the following summary of the characteristics of the new approach:

Usually there is no time pressure, and a variety of tools which are used in real life for performing similar tasks are permitted... the tasks are often interesting, meaningful, authentic, challenging and engaging, involving investigations of various kinds. Learners participate in the development of the criteria and the standards for evaluating their performance while both process and product are being assessed. Learners document their reflections in a journal and use portfolios to keep track of their academic growth. Finally reporting practices shift from a single score to a profile, i.e. from quantification to portrayal.

The sense is conveyed of assessment being contingent on a variety of factors. These include the contexts of learning and the kinds of teachers and learners within it. The nature of the assessment task, its purposes as well as the relationship between the assessor and assessed is also regarded as vital (Torrance, 1995; Black and Wiliam, 2003; Boyer, 1995; Slattery, 1995; Wiggins, 1992; Broadfoot, 2002; Sadler, 1989).

ASSESSMENT SHIFTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South African education system has not been exempt from global influences: its assessment trajectory mirrors international trends in its move from “objective” to “intersubjective” approaches. Traditionally assessment was regarded as the sole responsibility of the educator, consisted of marks and tests alone, was treated as a once-off test or examination and relied heavily on the awarding of scores (Geyser, 2000: 5). Underpinning this method of assessment was a document called, *A Resumé of Instructional Programmes in Public Ordinary Schools*, (Report; NATED; 02-550) (Davis, Jacob & Stumpf, 1988: 2). The document advocated an approach which valued rote learning as a study method for examinations (Hartzenberg 2000: 11). It is apparent from this document that learners were expected to memorize large chunks of information from a textbook and regurgitate it when requested. They did this by means of identifying keywords in the question and then reproducing, word for word, the information they

memorized about the topic in an examination (Van der Vyver, 2000: 39) in Hartzenberg, (2000: 11).

In line with international trends, South African research reflects a sentiment of strong discontent with traditional assessment methods. The idea is also conveyed that past assessment practices focused particularly on norm referencing – a system which compared one learner's performance against another's in a group (DoE, 1998: paragraph 1). The criticism expressed in research was that tests and examinations were not used appropriately to assess what learners knew, leading to high failure and drop-out rates amongst learners (Davis, Jacob & Stumpf, 1988). Another common perception is that in the past education system, tests were used to assess what learners did not know or to stump them (DoE, 1998: paragraph 4, sub-paragraph 8).

When South Africa became a democracy in 1994, it began a process of transforming its historically “flawed” educational system (Wilmot, 2005: 1). The *White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995: 17) expresses such a vision. One of the policies introduced, in the hope of transforming the education system, was the Outcomes-based Curriculum, 2005 (C2005). It would appear that, the move in South Africa to the outcomes-based approach has formed the pedagogical basis, for a move to the “intersubjective” mode of assessment. Within this framework, the *National Assessment Policy* (DoE, 1998: paragraph 3) defines assessment as the:

...process of identifying, gathering and interpreting information about a learner's performance as measured against nationally agreed upon outcomes for a learning phase.

In essence, there are four different types of assessment in the outcomes-based approach (DoE, 1998: paragraph 14). Firstly, formative assessment focuses on positively affirming the learner's performance by giving it recognition. Secondly, summative assessment focuses on the overall achievement of learners. Thirdly, diagnostic assessment identifies barriers to learning. Fourthly, evaluative assessment provides information for reviewing and streamlining learning programmes. The *National Policy on Assessment and*

Qualifications for Schools in the General Education and Training Band (DoE, 2002: 5), provides the following list of new characteristics. Point 8:8 states that Assessment should:

- a) *be authentic, continuous, multi-dimensional, varied and balanced;*
- b) *take into consideration the diverse needs of learners and the context. Various assessment strategies should therefore be used;*
- c) *be used as an on-going integral part of the learning and teaching process. This means that assessment should be used to inform and evaluate teaching and learning;*
- d) *be accurate, objective, valid, fair, manageable and time-efficient;*
- e) *take on many forms, gather information from several contexts, and include a range of competences and uses;*
- f) *be free from bias and sensitive to gender, race, cultural background and abilities; in the main,*
- g) *be criterion-referenced; and be transparent so that learners and teachers have a clear understanding of what the expectations are for any assessment task and what knowledge, skills, values and attitudes are being assessed.*

As we understand it, assessment within the outcomes-based approach is characterised by democratic, collaborative and self-directed inquiry. These policies suggest their embodiment of the notion of “intersubjectivity” in two dimensions: the *intra-subjective* and *intersubjective*. The *intra-subjective* dimension envisages empowerment through learners becoming self-regulating and active participants in their own learning. This is suggested through the use of more nuanced assessment strategies such as self-assessment (DoE, 1999). The *intersubjective* dimension sees learners enhancing their capacities for learning through engaging in collaborative interactive learning environments. This is suggested through the strategies of peer- and group- assessment techniques (DoE, 1999).

A REVIEW OF THE PARADIGM SHIFT IN ASSESSMENT

The historical journey undertaken so far, suggests that ‘intersubjective assessment’ has emerged globally as a new “era” in assessment. One could argue that the field of “intersubjective assessment” has displaced the field of “objective assessment” in the position of authority. Seen another way, the end of the reign of “objective” assessment can be seen as the “beginning” of the new reign of intersubjective assessment. These portrayals suggest that “intersubjective assessment” is perceived world-wide as the more educationally sound approach to assessing learning than the prior “objective” approach. As Goodwin (1997: 37) puts it, “*a new grand narrative*” of assessment has been born. The “birth” of the intersubjective view of assessment is thus positioned in the literature as a progressive view. It is projected as superior to the preceding objective view of assessment. What we see in this “historical” portrayal, is the movement in assessment from one victory to the next.

While we may be inclined to accept the new assessment initiatives as natural, inevitable and progressive, we are cautioned by the suggestions of certain prominent writers within the assessment tradition. In the extract quoted below, Hargreaves (1988) challenges our passive and unquestioning acceptance of the new conception of assessment arguing that there is much that still needs to be explored about the new conception of assessment, before we “accept” its philosophies and principles. Murphy and Torrance (1988: 9) support Hargreaves’ (1998) argument saying:

...every assessment initiative should be viewed with suspicion until it becomes clear what curricular or socio-political aims are embedded within it.

These authors believe that the new conception of assessment is not necessarily bad, but that it needs to be given further scrutiny.

The section which follows looks at Foucault’s scepticism of grand narratives and his articulation of suspicion toward the manner in which knowledge is transformed into power and vice-versa. His genealogical philosophy of “questioning” truth is particularly highlighted because it influenced me to challenge the new conception of assessment. This

meant my looking deeply into my own unquestioning enthusiasm for the new approach to assessment. This journey gained momentum through my further interaction with the genealogical ideas proposed by Michel Foucault (1926-1984).

SECTION C

TOWARDS A GENEALOGICAL APPROACH

Foucault's genealogical analysis of systems of thought is very similar to Nietzsche's work. Nietzsche's ideas, particularly those in *The Genealogy of Morals* (1977a: 140) appear to have influenced his thinking. Nietzsche (1989) refuses to trace the emergence of ascetic ideals to universal domains of absolute knowledge, but prefers to link these to mundane feelings of resentment, revenge, and guilt. Similarly, Foucault (1980) refuses to trace regimes of truth domains of absolute knowledge, but links them to regimes of power. In the following excerpts from an interview, which is transcribed in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, Foucault's (1980: 130-133) conception of truth is elaborated:

The important thing here, I believe, is that truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power ... truth isn't the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it includes regular effects of power.

'Truth' is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A 'regime' of truth...

In the above quotations, Foucault critiques the search for truth in philosophy. His argument, as interpreted below by Marshall (1990: 19), is that we should analyse history not as:

...culminations of historical processes, intentions of great actors, or hidden political designs, but instead, as manifestations of the balances of power over people...

The central thrust of Foucault's (1977) genealogical approach, is its rejection of traditional history. His view, as suggested below, is that it is based on continuity:

The traditional devices for constructing a comprehensive view of history and for retracing the past as a patient and continuous development must be systematically dismantled (Foucault, 1977a: 153).

Foucault includes forms of history such as “cause, influence, tradition, development, evolution, origins and teleology, ‘mentality’ or ‘spirit of the age’” (O’ Farrell 1989: 36). In the following quotation, Foucault (1977a: 142) echoes Nietzsche’s questioning of the search for “origins”:

Why does Nietzsche challenge the pursuit of the origin (Ursprung) at least on those occasions when he is truly a genealogist? First, because it is an attempt to capture the exact essence of things, their purest possibilities, and their carefully protected identities because this search assumes the existence of immobile forms that precede the external world of accident and succession.

Through Nietzsche’s concepts of *Herkunft*, *Entstehung* and *Ursprung*, Foucault (1977) rejects history as a form of linear progression, stability or continuity.

Foucault (1977a: 140) questions traditional ways of organizing texts into disciplines such as medicine or psychology. He is cited as follows in O’ Farrell, (1989: 36), where he challenges the ideas of authors, or entities such as the ‘great man’ and the ‘genius’:

Genealogy does not oppose itself to history as the lofty and profound gaze of the philosopher might compare to the molelike perspective of the scholar; on the contrary, it rejects the meta-historical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite technologies.

His argument is that all of these notions imply “essences” such as unifying or unchanging subject of history, or unities of “truth”. These forms of history, as Foucault (1991a: 78) perceives it, falsely portray the birth of particular phenomena as the final or “climactic stage in the investigation”. He explains this below through the notion of the “suprahistorical perspective”:

Once the historical sense is mastered by a suprahistorical perspective, metaphysics can bend it to its own purpose and, by aligning it to the demands of objective science, it can impose its own ‘Egyptianism’ (Foucault, 1977a: 152).

His point is that the traditional perspective of history depends on “metaphysical concepts” and “totalising assumptions it receives from philosophy” (Foucault, 1977a: 152). The presentation of the past in a linear and continuous manner “falsely” suggests a “unity” which follows a logical flow or pattern (Foucault, 1977a: 153). Foucault’s (1977) point is that conventional historical approaches pass off generalizations of the past as unquestionable “truths”- a perspective which puts the historian into a position of considering him/herself superior in knowledge to everyone else.

Foucault (1977) opposed the individual’s assumption of a superior position of knowing because he believed that there is no “stable” point from which anyone may verify truth about other human beings. As he writes in this regard:

Nothing in man-not even his body- is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men (Foucault, 1977a: 153).

Foucault (1977a: 153) writes further that:

...the body is molded by a great many distinct regimes; it is broken down by the rhythms of work, rest and holidays...

Foucault (1977) was apparently against continuity because he believed that thoughts, practices, institutions, even human bodies, are always vulnerable to change. We gather that in embarking on a genealogical journey, one does not search for firm foundations or “origins”. Contrarily, one’s journey involves the discovery of “moving sands, fragmented and incoherent events and faults, errors, omissions, faulty appraisals, and pious claims and aspirations” (Foucault, 1977 cited in Marshall, 1990: 19).

In his essay *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History*, Foucault (1977a: 139-140) writes the following about the purpose of Genealogy:

Genealogy must record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality; it must seek them in the most unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history-in sentiments, love, conscience, instincts; it must be sensitive to their recurrence, not in order to trace the gradual curve of their evolution, but to isolate the different scenes when they engaged in different roles. Finally

genealogy must define even those instances where they are absent, the moment when they remain unrealised...

One gets the impression from Foucault's writings that "truth" actually rests on complexities, contingencies and fragilities rather than continuities. In questioning "truth", he therefore advances a principle of *discontinuity*. Foucault (1977) is cited in O' Farrell (1989: 35) arguing that:

...if certain institutions and ways of thought and values have changed, it is not through some form of historical necessity, but through the far more haphazard channels of human activity: ambition, blunder, and any number of historical accidents.

From the insights Foucault (1977) shares with us we understand that he saw history as the consequence of minor accidents rather than the outcome of major events.

In an interview with the historian Raulet in *Politics, Philosophy, and Culture: Interviews and Other Writings* (1977-1984), Foucault (1988b) argues for a "different" type of history. As depicted below, this is a history in which we look to the present:

I think we should have the modesty to say to ourselves that, on the one hand, the time we live in is not the unique or fundamental or irruptive point in history where everything is completed and begun again. We must also have the modesty to say, on the other hand, that-even without this solemnity- the time we live in is very interesting; it needs to be analysed and broken down, and we should do well to ask ourselves, 'What is the nature of the present' (Foucault, 1988b: 36).

In *Truth and Power*, Foucault (1980a: 117) writes about the subject in history stating:

One has to [...] get rid of the subject itself, that's to say, to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework. And this is what I would call genealogy, that is, a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledge, discourses, domains of objects, etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history.

The above ideas suggest that Foucault focused on how individuals are constituted as *subjects* and how these creations relate to truth, knowledge, and power. His writings are intended to create awareness of the problems of the present and the manner in which these constitute individuals as subjects.

In the following excerpt from an interview which is cited in O' Farrell (1989: 36), Foucault (1977) attempts to clarify what he believed was the "history of the present":

Philosophy today should diagnose the present, describe how our present is different, and absolutely different, from that which is not in it, in other words from our past.

Readers such as O' Farrell (1989: 39), support Foucault's view that our present is not "teleologically" governed or the product of some historical certainty. This writer is among others who agree that our present is rather the consequence of diverse human practices which are impacted by others' practices. In the quotation below, Foucault (1977a: 144-145) shares his views on historical processes and chance:

The genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of the origin, somewhat in the manner of the pious philosopher who needs a doctor to exercise the shadow of his soul. He must be able to recognise the events of history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats the basis of all beginnings, atavisms, and heredities.

As it appears, Foucault advocated that historians should allow room in their inquiries, for the element of chance.

O' Farrell (1989) highlights Foucault's (1977a) perspectives on the purpose of his histories in *L'Usage des plaisirs*. Her work explores Foucault's (1977a) rationale for exposing us to institutions such as asylums and prisons as well as to his attitudes regarding sexuality. She quotes Foucault, when he says he wrote to:

...shock people out of their complacency, thereby provoking them into changing systems, institutions, and ways of thinking (O' Farrell, 1989: 39).

She highlights Foucault's (1977) choice of words in his attempts to "*produce a shift in thought so that things can really change*" (O' Farrell, 1989: 39). From the points highlighted by O' Farrell, we gather that one of Foucault's (1977a) key motivations in

studying history is for us to look to our own limits and work towards moving past them.

As Foucault (1977a: 142) writes:

...if the genealogist refuses to extend his faith in metaphysics, if he listens to history, he finds that there is something altogether different behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in piecemeal fashion from alien forms.

The suggestion is that Foucault wrote his histories with the intention of examining the extent to which thought could be freed from “*what it silently thinks and allowed to think otherwise*” (cited in O’ Farrell, 1989: 39). Foucault’s rationale is that if we are aware of the existence of our limits we may be less constituted by them, and so try to create ways of thinking differently.

To conduct a history of the present, Foucault (1977a) argues for an “examination of descent”. Apart from such a search allowing for the discovery of the unique traits of a concept, he believes it allows us to take cognisance of “strangeness” in social contexts over the familiarity of beginnings and endings. He argues that it:

...disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was... (Foucault, 1977a: 146).

Foucault (1977a: 172) believed that once all the unities have been dissolved (if this is ever possible in reality), one can draw out different relations and discover different lines of ‘rupture’, unity or change in our past. In other words, one may conduct a genealogical search for “something altogether different” (Foucault (1980: 126). His apparent motivation is for the genealogists’ role of analyzing the current moment, uncovering the central assumptions and bases of current thought and practice, and revealing the weak spots that are ripe for change.

GENEALOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THIS STUDY

Foucault's (1977) ideas in genealogy have had a powerful influence on the course of this study. Foucault's critique of the role of the conventional historian has encouraged me to review my identity as an "advocate" of OBE. As I stated in my biography, I perceived of myself as a promoter of the current perspective of assessment as that which is better than the past perspective, and the "right" way to evaluate learning. I saw the new ideas in assessment in Foucault's (1977a: 143) view as:

The moment of greatest perfection, when they emerged dazzling from the hands of a creator or in the shadowless light of a first morning...

I realised that I had adopted a view Foucault (1977a: 152) calls a "Suprahistorical perspective". This implies that I believed I knew more than my colleagues about assessment and I had the right to tell them what to do. Foucault's ideas in Genealogy, led me to question my assumption of such a position.

Foucault (1988: 265) emphasises the role of the historian (or researcher) as follows:

...the role of the intellectual is not to tell others what to do. By what right would he do so?...The work of an intellectual is not to shape others' political will; it is, through the analyses that he carries out in his own field, to question over and over again what is postulated as self-evident, to disturb people's mental habits, the way they do and think things, to dissipate what is familiar and accepted, to re-examine rules and institutions...

I realised that, instead of telling others what to do, my real task as researcher should be to challenge the current position of legitimacy produced historically by movements in assessment. In the light of Foucault's (1977a: 153) genealogical ideas, I realised that, by accepting the new conception of intersubjective assessment as final and inevitable progress in education, we help to authenticate it by extending "*our sovereignty to the events of the past*". However, by following Foucault's (1988: xiv) cue of "disturbing notions of order" in intersubjective assessment, we may discover important errors and accidents. In this way we may be therefore "open up other possibilities" in assessment. Thus, by challenging the current conception of "intersubjective assessment" in "final

terms” or as the new form of “truth” about assessment, we are able to offer a vigilance of knowledge about assessment.

Foucault’s genealogical method is aimed at showing how knowledge and power effect the constitution of our selves (Hoy, 1986: 12-13). An analysis of the relations between knowledge and power may provide awareness of the manner in which they constitute our subjectivities. Such awareness may help us to “challenge” and possibly “transfigure” these subjectivities as suggested by Harwood (2006: 122) below:

Subjectivities can be challenged (and transfigured) by strategically rupturing the very mechanisms that lie at the root of their creation, namely the technologies of the self, games of truth and relations of power.

In other words, we would allow ourselves to “*think and act differently*” (Hoy 1986: 7).

The above discussion presents an argument for the use of genealogical analysis to question the processes, actions and methods through which truth is produced in intersubjective assessment. Through genealogical analysis, we may be able to analyse the intricate relations between power and knowledge in intersubjective assessment practice, and so be able to contemplate change. A critical perspective such as this would offer a unique contribution to the much needed “picture of educational change” in South Africa. The following section applies the concept of genealogy to the study of assessment practices.

SECTION D

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THIS GENEALOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study, my purpose is to complete a genealogical analysis of problems, of *problématiques* (Rabinow, 1984) within the phenomenon of intersubjective assessment. These “problems” are presented through a deconstruction of the discourses of five “critical” extracts, which are drawn from the lessons conducted by the two key participants in the study, namely, Jill and Mary. It should be borne in mind that it was not my intention to find solutions to these “problems”. Rabinow (1984: 343) cites Foucault’s view of this complexity in genealogical work:

...you can't find the solution for a problem in the solution of another problem raised at another moment by other people. You see, what I want to do is not the history of solutions...I would like to do a genealogy of problems, of problématiques. My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads...to a hyper- and pessimistic activism. I think that the ethico-political choice we have to make every day is to determine which is the main danger.

Following a Foucauldian philosophy, my perspective of “problems” does not imply that methods, techniques and processes in intersubjective assessment are bad, but that they may be “dangerous”. My genealogical inquiry therefore does not try to unearth any concealed meaning. It does not work to provide options for freeing ourselves from the dominant ideology. Instead, as everything is “dangerous”, this study problematizes intersubjective assessment in the present, using history as a resource.

Neither do I attempt to produce truth as an outcome of the study. My project does not intend to replace the current histories of “Intersubjective assessment” with another convincing proposal for how assessment should be done. I take my cue from Foucault’s (1988: 37) response to questions the historian Raulet posed to him, in an interview regarding the work of the “intellectual”:

I would say that about the work of the intellectual, that it is fruitful in a certain way to describe that-which-is by making it appear as something that might not be, or that might not be as it is. This is why this designation or description of the real never has a prescriptive value of a kind, 'because this is, that will be'.

Foucault (1988) felt that because much of our Post-modern world still adheres to Modern thought, an unavoidable danger of the genealogical method is that observations revealed might eventually replace previously held beliefs as the new *truth*. In line with Foucault's (1988) philosophy, this project proposes to investigate and acknowledge the discontinuous paths where ideas emerge; not to promote them as *truth*.

I am also mindful that, true to the genealogical approach, I must avoid constructing another story of progress in assessment, suggesting that mine is better than the current perspective. There are times in my analysis when I *do* present stories of progress. As I will show, these descriptions are necessary to the identification of *discontinuities*. These supposedly orderly stories of progress are in fact part of a broader portrayal of breakages, irregularities, re-formations and intricacy. I make clear that my objective is to disturb the "truth" produced about the discourses in intersubjective assessment. My goal is not to analyse the progress of intersubjective assessment, but the "fractures" (Foucault, 1988: 36) and "disparities" (Foucault, 1977a: 353) contained within its histories. I believe that Foucault would regard such a contribution by a "specific intellectual" as "fruitful" in the sense that they show how the conceptual foundations of intersubjective assessment could be changed.

In committing myself to genealogical analysis, I acknowledge that I do not conduct my project in conventional historical places that show promise for "truth", but as Foucault (1977a: 140) argues, "outside of any monotonous finality" in places that are "without history". Foucault (1984c: 80) rejects the study of historical origins on the grounds that it neglects other important elements of reality:

A genealogy of values, morality, asceticism, and knowledge will never confuse itself with a quest for their 'origins', will never neglect as inaccessible the vicissitudes of history.

Foucault (1984c: 80) writes instead about exploring the accidental events in different beginnings:

On the contrary, it will cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning; it will be scrupulously attentive to their petty malice; it will await their emergence, once unmasked, as the face of the other.

My genealogical analysis does not concern itself with the historical “origins” of intersubjective assessment. Adopting such an approach implies following the path of a mere “portrayal” of issues and principles within the phenomenon of intersubjective assessment, while neglecting important events that occur by chance. Following Foucault’s (1977a: 145-146) route, allows the study to focus on developing the “details and accidents” of the “numberless beginnings” which are vital to the notion of intersubjective assessment.

In the interview he had with the historian Raulet, Foucault (1988:36) offers a perspective of what the genealogist should try to do:

I would like to say something about the function of any diagnosis concerning the nature of the present. It does not consist in a simple characterization of what we are, but instead-by following lines of fragility in the present- in managing to grasp why and how that-which-is might no longer be that-which-is. In this sense, any description must always be made in accordance with these kinds of virtual fracture which open up the space of freedom understood as a space of concrete freedom, i.e. of possible transformation.

It would seem that in following the more intricate path of “lines of fragility” in the present one may easily “open up spaces for freedom” within a phenomenon. This study follows the Foucauldian concept of “lines” because they are likely to show possible “weaknesses” in our daily practices of assessment and as such, may reveal points that are ripe for change. I therefore work to offer points of resistance in the phenomenon of intersubjective assessment.

Foucault (1988) does not see the present in final terms, but as part of an ongoing series. His genealogical work stresses the position of its subject as being the current in a

continuing series. He also stresses the idea of the genealogists being aware of his/her personal contribution to this “unending history”. In line with Foucault (1988), my genealogical analysis does not stand for the final word on the matter either. My thesis seeks at all times to be aware of its own role in contributing to the history of ‘intersubjective assessment’ – its own role in ‘rewriting history’. Thus, in true Foucauldian fashion, my genealogy does not allege to provide any fixed truth – I offer mine as just one possible description among others. In Foucault’s (1988: 83) words, a history such as this is “*more effective in unsettling our certitudes and dogmatism than is abstract criticism.*” My genealogical project therefore adopts a critical standpoint with regards to the present. Thus, rather than accepting the notion of intersubjective assessment as progress in education which is desirable and inevitable, I question it, invoking a sense of doubt about its theory.

Four key questions guide this study:

- 1) What kind of power relations exist within intersubjective assessment practices?
- 2) Is it possible for educators to act and think differently about their assessment practices?
- 3) How can educators create openings in assessment which will allow their students to grow and develop?
- 4) Is it possible to challenge the new grand narrative of assessment?

The following chapter elaborates on how the above questions are explored within a genealogical framework.

CHAPTER TWO

A GENEALOGICAL ORIENTATION

“It is not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power (which would be a chimera, for truth is already power), but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which it operates at the present time.”

(Foucault, 1980: 133)

This chapter provides a methodological orientation for the study. In Section A, issues of “approach” in genealogical inquiry are considered. It considers a genealogical strategy taking into cognisance the sources Foucault regarded as fundamental to genealogical work. Section B outlines a framework for the genealogical inquiry. It justifies a study along the intersecting axes of “truth” and “power-knowledge” structures in intersubjective assessment. It describes Foucault’s “mechanics of power” sketching ways in which these techniques are brought into this analysis. This is followed by a section which considers Foucault’s notion of freedom and resistance in relation to current debates in the literature. Section C justifies the “discourse analysis” of intersubjective assessment practices using four “angles of scrutiny” adopted from Harwood’s (2000) work.

SECTION A

STRATEGIZING A GENEALOGICAL APPROACH

This section focuses on three key issues that were dealt with in devising a genealogical strategy for this study. The first involves the complexities inherent to Foucault's (1926-1984) writing. The second involves the idea of working within the "open-ended" frameworks advocated by Foucault within the Genealogical approach. The third involves the "risks" incurred in undertaking Foucauldian genealogical work. The tensions experienced in each of these areas, and this study's response to them, are highlighted below.

It is apparent that Foucault's (1926-1984) work is received in paradoxical ways: There are groups of writers who passionately reject his ideas, while there are others who express great admiration for them. Gane (1986: 5), who is exemplary of the latter group, writes as follows about the appeal in Foucault's work:

Foucault's reputation is not simply that of brilliant wide-ranging critic of Western culture, politics and society, but of an intellectual of great charm and geniality.

Megill in Still & Velody (1992) is one of those readers who might have been caught between the two worlds in which Foucault's work has been received. This is suggested by his divergent experiences with Foucault's work, as cited in Still and Velody (1992: 86):

One has the impression that at any given moment Foucault knew precisely what he wanted. Yet his directness often found manifestation in prose of a quite astonishing ambiguity.

The controversial ways in which Foucault's work has been received is particularly highlighted by Ball (1990: 1) when he says:

Foucault's playfulness and elusiveness seem to have stimulated fascination and exasperation in equal measure.

Ball (1990), who writes within the educational context, maintains that certain academics find Foucault's work exasperating because it does not fit into conventional or recognisable categories. It would seem that the ways in which Foucault's work has been

experienced, has earned him the reputation of being not only an “enigma” (Gordon, 1990, in Still and Velody, 1992: 19) but a “*continuing source of controversy and debate*” (Smart, 1994: 3).

In my engagement with Foucault’s work, I could relate to Megill’s (in Still and Velody, 1992: 99) array of descriptions of this terrain:

...*difficult, gnomic, puzzling, paradoxical, suggestive, playful, erudite, recondite, learned and allusive...*

The element of *paradox* was particularly prominent in my encounters with Foucault’s work: like other readers I found his work straightforward and clear at times, and yet mystifying and obscure at others. There is much to suggest that Foucault’s framework of ideas is, by its very nature, highly amorphous. I realised that any attempt at “shaping” a genealogical itinerary out of this elusive terrain could not be undertaken without venturing deeper into aspects of Foucault’s (1926-1984) work, which have given it such character. The following section looks at some of the complexities inherent to Foucault’s (1926-1984) work and discusses ways in which this study dealt with them.

DEALING WITH FOUCAULT’S ELUSIVENESS

Foucault’s (1926-1984) work has been received in diverse ways. His interpreters can be depicted on a scale ranging from those such as Gary Gutting (1989), who sympathetically accept his ideas within the rationalist tradition, to the extremes of writers such as Allen (1993), cited in Gutting (2004), who depict his work as nihilistic. The latter group consists of authors like Jacques Derrida, who contest Foucault’s portrayal of historical information (McNay, 1994: 14). It also includes those who object to Foucault’s style of playing “fast and loose” with historical data and time. These critics feel that he appeals to concepts like rupture and discontinuity, which fail to explain his intent (Megill, 1979, cited in Marshall, 1990: 11). Macy (1977), who is cited in the work of Marshall (1990: 11), sees Foucault as a *structuralist* -a view contrary to what he portrays of himself. Also included in this group, are philosophers who find him “*incoherent, or protest that his*

methodology wavers between the philosophical, the politically strategic, and moral onslaught” (Fraser, 1985, cited in Marshall 1990: 11).

Situated towards the more sympathetic end of the scale of criticism, James Bernauer and Michael Mahon, argue that Foucault “disconcerts” (Gutting, 2005: 149). These authors cite two key critics of Foucault’s (1926-1984) work to support their argument. One such writer cited is Charles Taylor who writes as follows in Gutting (2005: 149):

By claiming that there are no universally acceptable principles, no normative standards, ‘no order of human life, or way we are, or human nature, that one can appeal to in order to judge or evaluate between ways of life’...Foucault relinquishes any critical power that his historical analyses might have.

Taylor’s criticism is that the absence of “norms” has implications for the “critical power” of Foucault’s analyses. This view supports Habermas’ (cited in Gutting, 2005: 149) point that without such a “*normative yardstick, Foucault’s historical analyses cannot be genuinely critical.*” As is reflected in Gane’s (1986: 5) work, Foucault describes himself as getting “*tangled up into an indecipherable, disorganized muddle.*” It is apparent that Foucault responded to such critiques with open recognition of his self-disorganization.

Foucault’s work reflects that he delighted in the fact that he was “unknown”. In an interview with Rabinow just before his death, he was asked where he stood with regard to criticisms of being an “*idealist, as a nihilist... ‘a new philosopher’...an anti-Marxist, a new conservative, and so on....*” (Foucault, 1988a: 13). His response was as follows:

I think I have been situated in most of the squares on the political checkerboard, one after another and sometimes simultaneously: an anarchist, leftist, ostentatious or disguised Marxist, nihilist, explicit or secret anti-Marxist, technocrat in the service of Gaullism, new liberal, etc. An American professor complained that a crypto-Marxist like me was invited to the USA, and I was denounced by the press in Eastern Europe for being an accomplice to the dissidents. None of these descriptions is important by itself; taken together, on the other hand, they mean something. And I must admit I rather like what they mean (Foucault, 1997a: 113).

Foucault's response suggests that the role of critic is not easily reducible to the standard categories of philosopher, political theorist, linguist, or historian. Foucault (1997a: 113) therefore refused to define his identity and expressed candid amusement by the "diverse ways" in which he has been judged and classified.

In another interview, which is discussed by Gane (1986: 5), Foucault (1976) describes himself as a:

...bit like a whale that leaps to the surface of the water disturbing it momentarily with a tiny jet of spray and lets it be believed, or pretends to believe, or wants to believe, or himself does in fact believe, that down in the depths where no one sees him any more, where he is no longer witnessed nor controlled by anyone, he follows a more profound, coherent and reasoned trajectory.

In another interview, this time with Trombadori, Foucault (1978: 288–89) reflects that he revelled in his mystical image because he did not want to come across as a "specialist" of any universalised ideas:

I'd like to be able to participate in this work myself without delegating responsibilities to any specialist, including myself . . . In short, to be done with spokespersons.

We get the sense that Foucault's "elusiveness" was intrinsic to his goal of challenging those who "speak" for truth in society.

Although Foucault was reticent in defining "who" or "what" he was, at the same time, he revealed a commitment to challenging the limitations of thought. It is this diverse potentiality of Foucault that identifies him as one of the foremost thinkers of the past four decades (Gane, 1986). Marshall advises that Foucault should be taken for *himself* and not classified neatly into recognisable categories (1990: 11). In support of this point, Alcoff, in Gutting (2004: 213), argues that any critical interpretation, that chooses to focus solely on Foucault's occasional universal pronouncements and refuses to engage with him on his own ground, is unfair. Her view is that a number of excellent philosophers, such as Habermas (1987) and Rorty (1986), have seriously misunderstood Foucault because they neglected to address his particular cases, or to use those as the guide with which to

interpret his generalizations. We gather that at the very least, we should look at the context within which Foucault's assertions arise.

Although Foucault's ideas are problematic (as suggested by Hoy's (1986) collection of critical essays in *Foucault: The Critical Reader*), one could argue that he offers educational research a new framework with new articulations of problems and new objects of study. I agree with Marshall (1990), that rather than theorise about its limits of application, it may be better to see what can be done in practice. Foucault (1972: 171) enlightens us below on what he believes to be a priority for any researcher:

The real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; violence which always has exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that we can fight fear.

It is this spirit of critique which my genealogical study offers its work. It is hoped that the application of a Foucauldian genealogical analysis to intersubjective assessment practices, will unmask the politics that underlie some of the apparent neutrality of the assessment reform.

WORKING WITHIN "OPEN-ENDED" FRAMEWORKS

Foucault does not offer any methodological procedure for genealogical work. He sheds light on this issue in "*Questions of method*"- an interview based on a round-table debate involving philosophers such as Maurice Agulhon, Nicole Castan, and other scholars. In this interview Foucault (1991a: 85) says:

I wouldn't want what I have said or written to be seen as laying any claims to totality.

Foucault (1991a: 85) acknowledges below that his "vagueness" about how to go about doing genealogical work may be received with frustration:

Perhaps the reason why my work irritates people is precisely the fact that I'm not interested in constructing a new schema, or in validating one that already exists.

As we understand, he did not “dictate” genealogical routes to avoid creating global principles or validating previous ones. Foucault (1991a: 73-74) also conveyed his sense of open-endedness particularly when he points out that he wrote with or, “*between unfinished abutments and anticipatory strings of dots.*” When he wrote that he adopted this particular approach to, “*open up a piece of research, try it out, and then if it doesn’t work, try again somewhere else*” (Foucault, 1991a: 73-74), he conveys his need for extreme levels of flexibility in research.

Shiner (1982) acknowledges Foucault’s approach as “*anti-method*”, perceiving of it as emancipatory. His writing below suggests that Foucault wrote this way to “free” us from the constraints imposed on us by conventional methodologies:

Foucault is not looking for a "method" which will be superior to other methods in objectivity and comprehensiveness but is forging tools of analysis which take their starting point in the political-intellectual conflicts of the present. His method is an anti-method in the sense that it seeks to free us from the illusion that an apolitical method is possible (Shiner, 1982: 6).

Shiner (1982: 397) points to the futility of any attempt to systematise genealogical study, seeing such practice as going against everything Foucault stood for:

To treat Foucault as a methodologist - whether it is in order to quarrel with his techniques and sources or to embrace his salutary innovations - is to miss the point of his work.

In Shiner’s (1982) terms, Foucault deliberately engaged a “non-prescriptive” approach in keeping with his opposition to historical unities. In other words, he wrote to disturb accepted ways of doing things.

We acknowledge that Foucault is pushing us to think differently about what counts as knowledge, about how individuals come to know and be known to themselves and others, and about the procedures that are used to declare ‘truth’. While Foucault is justified in his aim to throw into question the “*bedrock of our social and political thought*”, he ruptures “*our accepted cognitive grasp on the world*” leaving us disorientated (Philp, 1983: 3). It is perhaps for this reason that Grosz (1994: 21-24) in Meadmore et al. (2000) describes

Foucault's work as "*both seductive and depressing*". I agree with this description: Foucault's work is seductive because it opens up a unique space of knowledge where the possibility for extrapolation, interpretation and intellectual freedom take on a new dimension. On the other hand, it could be depressing in that it is "risky" to divert from the "safety" and "security" of conventional methodological frameworks.

The following quotation from Megill's chapter, "*Foucault's ambiguity and the rhetoric of historiography*", in Still and Velody (1992: 101), is suggestive of the tension mentioned above:

The aim stands in some tension with the fact that the production of new knowledge must fit itself into the already existing disciplinary framework with its rules of thumb, acceptable begged questions, preferred focuses of research, and so on.

Megill suggests that working within a Foucauldian framework is risky, in that one aspires to produce new knowledge by "breaking" with conventional methodologies, yet one still faces the responsibility of "fitting in" this knowledge into existing structures. At the same time, Megill cautions us not to tone Foucault down in any attempt to make his work acceptable from the point of view of 'normal' scholarly standard. He illustrates this point citing the concluding lines of two extracts Foucault (1961) wrote about the 'experience' of madness:

Modern man, in the midst of the serene of the world of mental illness, no longer communicates with the mad person....There is no common language, or rather there is no common language anymore, the 'constituting of madness as mental illness, at the end of the 18th Century attests to a broken dialogue...

I have not wished to write the history of this language, but rather the archaeology of that silence.

Megill acknowledges that the complexity of the above text has led to several different interpretations, yet claims that attempts (such as that of Colin Gordon) to remove ambiguity from Foucault's work, is "contra to" him at several points. For example, he speaks of Foucault's "trying" to reach the "*zero degree of the history of madness*", not of

actually reaching it (as Gordon suggests) and what exactly would the “‘archaeology’ of a silence be?” (Still and Velody, 1992: 96) He gives credit to Gordon for pointing out that things are more complicated and elusive, but argues that he “*seems insufficiently attentive to just how complicated and elusive matters are*” (Still and Velody, 1992: 96). Megill explains in Still and Velody (1992: 88) why ambiguity should not be removed from Foucault’s work:

For it is reductive. It betrays the original by eliminating the ambiguity. To be sure all translations are betrayals: traduttore traditore. No version can escape accusation....

In Megill’s terms, any attempt to remove ambiguity from Foucault’s work, may lessen its value.

Megill pins down Foucault’s ambiguity to his “antidisciplinarity”- meaning his opposition to the idea of a discipline (Still and Velody, 1992: 101). Citing Sheridan’s (1980) view, Megill highlights in Still and Velody (1992: 208), that Foucault carried out his work “outside” of existing academic frameworks:

There was no discipline, with its institutions, journals, internal controversies, conceptual apparatus, methods of work, within which Foucault could carry out the task he had set himself. Indeed there is a sense in which like Nietzsche’s, his work would have to be carried out on the outside, even against, the existing academic frameworks.

In Megill’s conception, Foucault’s “anti-disciplinarity” was aimed at producing new knowledge, and not simply repeating the old (Still and Velody, 1992: 101). He argues that it is the very “device” of ambiguity which Foucault has used as a “tool” to disturb the disciplinary mechanisms in society:

His ambiguity goes hand in hand with a kind of intellectual solitude...it is through his love of ambiguity that he has thrown a monkey wrench into the disciplinary machinery (Still and Velody, 1992: 101).

Megill highlights Foucault’s point that disciplines face the danger of becoming self contained operations where the publishing of knowledge becomes routinized.

Megill's ideas in Still and Velody (1992) have helped us to see that it is unwise to eliminate ambiguity from Foucault's work because it retracts from what he set out to do. He has also shown us how to productively engage with Foucault without detracting from the heart of genealogical work. In the light of the ideas above, this study refrains from systematisation and, in agreement with Shiner (1982), believes that such practice would undermine the whole point of a genealogical philosophy. It also rejects a search for explicit methodological guidelines, seeing this as a fruitless endeavour. Rather, it conducts a search through Foucault's work for implicit clues and suggestions of how to frame the research. Following Megill's cue in Still & Velody (1992), this study holds on to Foucault's "density": his directness is used to suggest important insights and his ambiguity implies a certain freedom to receive and use his ideas in creative ways. Undoubtedly, such practice breaks with convention, and so puts my study at "risk". This point is discussed next.

DEALING WITH 'RISK'

From what Foucault (1983) conveys of his experiences, "risks" and "dangers" are inherent to the notion of genealogy. He speaks about the "risk" incurred by telling the "truth" in *Discourse and Truth: The Problematization of Parrhesia* (Six lectures given at Berkeley in 1983). In the following excerpt from these lectures, Foucault (1983: 3) speaks about truth-telling through the concepts of *parrhesiazesthai*, *parrhesiastes* and *Parrhesia*:

... '*parrhesiazesthai*' means "to tell the truth". But does the *parrhesiastes* say what he thinks is true, or does he say what is really true? To my mind, the *parrhesiastes* says what is true because he knows that it is true; and he knows that it is true because it is really true. The *parrhesiastes* is not only sincere and says what is his opinion, but his opinion is also the truth. He says what he knows to be true.

The above quotation suggests that, in Foucault's view, truth-telling involves an apparent tension: the inclination to say what society values as true over what the actual "truth" is. The following extract from Foucault's (1983: 4-5) lectures, suggests that truth-telling is

linked to the individuals' choice of the "safe" or "dangerous" path - a notion called *Parrhesia*:

Parrhesia is a verbal activity in which a speaker expresses his personal relationship to truth, and risks his life because he recognizes truth-telling as a duty to improve or help other people (as well as himself). In Parrhesia, the speaker uses his freedom and chooses frankness instead of persuasion, truth instead of falsehood or silence, the risk of death instead of life and security, criticism instead of flattery, and moral duty instead of self-interest and moral apathy.

As we interpret it, in adopting the role of parrhesiastes, one is required the courage to speak the truth in spite of possible danger. Despite the risk however, the "truth-telling" experience has an emancipatory function: it leads to a form of critical self-knowledge that holds promise for freedom. Foucault's (1983) ideas on *Parrhesia*, give credibility to Shiner's (1982: 394) point earlier, that conducting genealogical work has an emancipatory value. In this genealogical inquiry, I take cognisance of Foucault's insight and enter into a relationship with myself where I endeavour to improve other people through "truth-telling" despite the inherent "risks" involved. In adopting such a stance, I believe I am maximising the freedom offered by a genealogical philosophy.

In a way that mimics Foucault's approach, this study perceives of genealogical inquiry as a journey which is embarked on and the reader is invited to join. A further strategy is adopted from the insights Foucault shares of his personal genealogical journeys. In the lecture, *Questions of Method*, Foucault (1991a: 73-74) says:

On many points- I am thinking especially of the relations between dialectics, genealogy and strategy- I am still working and don't yet know whether I am going to get anywhere. What I say ought to be taken as 'propositions', 'game openings' where those who may be interested are invited to join in; they are not meant as dogmatic assertions that have to be taken or left en bloc. My books aren't treatises in philosophy or studies of history: at most, they are philosophical fragments put to work in a historical field of problems.

Foucault's approach of offering his readers "*propositions*", "*invitations*" and "*game-openings*", is incorporated into this genealogical inquiry. Such an approach is regarded as a vital stratagem for this study: by providing the reader with "game openings" into this genealogical inquiry, a sense of "openness" may be maintained about the study's genealogical orientation while still providing the research with a clear itinerary. In this way, I am able to aspire for intellectual freedom whilst still respecting the expectations of the community of doctoral scholarship.

SECTION B

FRAMING THE GENEALOGICAL PROJECT

This section devises a framework for the genealogical inquiry. It draws primarily from the ideas Foucault used to frame his own genealogical work. Consideration is also given to how other genealogists have engaged with their research questions and strategies. It does not however, bind itself in any religious or conformist way to what Foucault or other genealogists have done. Any such attempt may contradict the aims of this genealogical investigation: by giving supremacy to these discourses, it universalises their ideas, treating them as “global principles”. This study is cognisant that the practice of systematizing and universalizing scientific theories creates a discourse of social control (Foucault, 1977a).

In framing this genealogical inquiry, ideas were drawn from Foucault’s (1997b) interviews with French Historians. In response to questions regarding the “structure” of Genealogy, Foucault (1997b: 262) highlighted the possibility of our following three ‘domains’ of analysis:

First, a historical ontology of ourselves in relation to truth through which we constitute ourselves as subjects of knowledge; second, a historical ontology of ourselves in relation to a field of power through which we constitute ourselves as subjects acting on others; third, a historical ontology in relation to ethics through which we constitute ourselves as moral agents. So....three domains are possible.

Foucault’s (1997b) analysis of the axes of truth, power and the subject came across as particularly relevant and suited to my study in education. The link Foucault makes between power and knowledge appeared vital to my concern about intersubjective assessment practices. His analysis of the operation of power within institutions held promise for drawing parallels to institutions within education. His themes of disciplinary power, bio-power, pastoral power, governmentality normalisation and examinations had currency within the educational discourse.

My study in intersubjective assessment particularly concerns itself with the complex of the two axes Foucault speaks about: the critique of the “regime of truth” and the analysis of “structures of power-knowledge”. By analyzing the relationship between the spheres of influence of truth and power within intersubjective assessment practices, consideration was given to the subjects that were possibly constituted. The following discussion, justifies this choice.

“TRUTH” AXIS

In the following excerpt from the interview, “*Truth and Power*” that Foucault (1991a: 79) had with Alessandro Fontana and Pasquale Pasquino, he points out that he was intrigued by what is perceived as the “truth” and how it became “acceptable” in society:

...my problem is to see how men govern (themselves and others) by the production of truth.

Foucault (1984b: 54) saw each society as having its “regime of truth”, or its “general politics of truth” which is characterised by the following five traits:

...the type of discourse it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.

He encourages us to see this “truth” as the construct of the political and economic forces that dominate society. Foucault, is cited in Rabinow (1984a: 7) arguing that:

... ‘truth’ is produced and disseminated by great economic and political apparatuses like the university, the media, or the army.

He was opposed to this manner of determining “truth” on account of the fact that the economic gives rise to “*ideology and the play of superstructures and infrastructures*” (Foucault, 1984b: 58). He therefore rejected the Marxist concept of ideology because it implied the existence of a universal rationality and the notion of the “subject” as the bearer of its continuity.

Foucault's (1991) writings indicate that the "target" of his analysis "wasn't 'institutions', 'theories' or ideology', but practices...". In the excerpt below, Foucault's (1991a: 75) highlights this feature of his work:

...to grasp the conditions which makes these acceptable at a given moment; the hypothesis being that these types of practice are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstances-whatever role these elements may actually play-but possess up to a point their own specific regularities, logic strategy, self-evidence and 'reason'.

In response to other questions, Foucault (1984a: 7) provides insight on how one should tackle the issue of truth:

...it is necessary to think of the political problems of intellectuals not in terms of "science" and "ideology", but in terms of "truth and "power". And thus the question of professionalisation and manual labour can be envisaged in a new way.

In Foucault's view therefore, the question of how to deal with, and determine "truth", has more to do with an understanding of power than science and ideology.

Positioning himself as an "anti-structuralist", Foucault (1984b: 56) argued against Western society's ordering and structuring of history in "finalities". He saw this as an enterprise which has evacuated the concept of the *event*. He speaks below of how societal leaders have contributed to this by ignoring:

...abnormal and unusual events that do not fit into those beautiful structures that are so orderly, intelligible and transparent to analysis (Foucault, 1984b: 56).

In this same interview Foucault (1984b: 56) argued, that by focusing studies of history on a "model of language", the "event" was being devalued:

Here I believe one's point of reference should not be to the great model of language (langue) and signs, but to that of war and battle. The history which bears and determines us has the form of a war rather than that of a language: relations of power, not relations of meaning.

He believed that the model for explaining human practices should not be based on relations of “meaning”, but “relations of power”:

History has no ‘meaning’ but is, contrarily intelligible and should be susceptible to analysis down to the smallest detail-but this is in accordance with the intelligibility of struggles, of strategies and tactics (Foucault, 1984b: 56).

His work showed that he viewed each historical *event* as an exercise in the exchange of power which could be analyzed in detail.

Further writings of Foucault (1988b: 37) suggests that the heart of genealogy should not be about writing a history of the past, but about writing a history of how the regimes of truth have been “made”, as historically contingent forces:

What reason perceives as its necessity, or rather what different forms of rationality offer as their necessary being, can perfectly well be shown to have a history; and the network of contingencies from which it emerges can be traced. Which is not to say, however that these forms of rationality were irrational. It means that they reside on a base of human practice and human history; and that since these things have been made, they can be unmade, as long as we know how it is that they were made.

One gets the sense from Foucault (1984b, 1988b) that the important thing in genealogical work is to challenge the self-evidence of things through the detailed analysis of events. Through such a process, we question unity and so work towards breaking down the “obviousness” truth imposes on us.

Foucault (1985: 11) suggests that the “unmaking” of truth could be conducted by a strategy whereby the genealogist engages in:

...analyzing, not behaviours or ideas, nor societies and their "ideologies," but the problematisations through which being offers itself to be, necessarily, thought—and the practices on the basis of which these problematisations are formed.

As he portrays in the quotation below, the notion of *problematisations* is useful to:

...rediscover at the root of these diverse solutions the general form of problematization that has made the possible—even in their very opposition; or

what has made possible the transformation of the difficulties and obstacles of a practice into a general problem for which one proposes diverse practical solutions (Foucault, 1988c: 117).

“Problematization”, in Foucault’s (1988) perspective, helps in developing a given into a question or to help the genealogist to transform a group of obstacles and difficulties into problems. Diverse solutions which have produced a response may then be explored.

Foucault’s idea of “critiquing truth” does not reject the logic or reasoning about the new ideas in intersubjective assessment as “irrational”. He acknowledges that different forms of rationality, such as that in intersubjective assessment, *do* have a history. His point is that these histories are “man-made” and so have the potential to be “unmade”. He encourages us to “unmake” these concepts through genealogical analysis. This study acknowledges Foucault’s reasoning and does not attempt to analyse behaviour or ideologies within the realm of intersubjective assessment. What it sees instead, as constituting the heart of this genealogical study, is the “unmaking” of “truths” in intersubjective assessment.

Through this genealogical study, an attempt is made to break down the certainty and obviousness of truth within the phenomenon of intersubjective assessment. This is attempted in the following two dimensions: Chapter Four of the study constitutes one dimension. In this part of the analysis Foucault’s strategy of “problematisations” is used to explore the “making” of the notion of intersubjective assessment. Chapter Five of the study constitutes the other dimension of the genealogical study- the “Analysis of practices”. In this axis, an analysis is conducted of the practices on which the “problematisations” were formed. By conducting such an analysis consideration is given to the points where the “planned” (ideology) connect with the “taken for granted” in intersubjective assessment (Foucault, 1991a: 75). By the analyses conducted along these axes, the study works towards the presentation of a “nucleus of experience” in intersubjective assessment.

POWER-KNOWLEDGE AXIS

One of the central themes of Foucault's (1980b) work is that individuals are constituted through techniques and procedures that depend on power-knowledge relations. He therefore developed the argument that power and knowledge are involved in the genealogy of the individual. Within this framework of thought, he offers an '*analytic of power*', which provides insight on what he refers to as 'power' and its link to the history of an apparatus (Foucault, 1980b: 198). The relevance of these ideas for this study is discussed below.

Foucault's (1980b: 198) writings in this area reflect his belief that "*Power in the substantive sense, 'le' pouvoir doesn't exist.*" He argued that the previous conceptions of power (such as that offered by the Liberalists, Marxists, Hegel and Freud and later Reich) were "ill-advised" because they failed to account for several phenomena (Gordon, 1980b: 199). In the quotation below, Foucault (1980c: 88) speaks about power in the liberalist or juridical perspective:

By that I mean that in the case of the classic, juridicial theory, power is taken to be a right, which one is able to possess like a commodity, and which one can in consequence transfer or alienate, either wholly or partially, through a legal act or through some act that establishes a right, such as takes place through cession or contract.

Foucault suggests that in the above perspectives, power was regarded as a right one possessed and that could be given up to the sovereign state in terms of a contract. He believed that such a conception suggests an "economic functionality of power" – locating power in the sphere of political-economic oppression (Foucault, 1980c: 88-89).

In the words quoted below, Foucault (1980c: 89) questioned why power should be conceived as always answerable to the economy:

Is it something one possesses, acquires, cedes through force or contract, that one alienates or recovers, that circulates, that voids this or that region?

The question he articulates suggests that he objected to power being seen as a “commodity”. In Foucault’s (1980a:116) view, conceptions of power that looked to economics as the only factor of significance, have ignored other elements “*essential to the general functioning of the wheels of power*”. He thus regarded the Marxist and Liberalist conceptions of power as inadequate because they disregarded the analysis of the “mechanics of power in themselves” and projected a view of power as limiting, prohibitive and repressive (Foucault, 1980c: 89).

Foucault (1980a: 119) rejected the view of power as repressive- seeing it as a “*wholly negative, narrow, skeletal conception of power*.” In the excerpt quoted below, Foucault (1980a: 119) raises questions of why we would follow such a form of power, if it was only negative:

If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but say no, do you really think one could be brought to obey it?

His arguments, such as that below, reflect that if we are to analyze power always on the basis of repression, we would be ignoring the “productive” aspect of power:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force, that says no, but that it traverses and produces things; it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse (Foucault, 1980a: 119).

His writings reflected the belief that the repressive conceptions of power were bound to the institution of monarchy. As he writes:

What we need, however, is a political philosophy that isn't erected around the problem of sovereignty, nor therefore around the problem of law and prohibition.

We need to cut off the King's head (Foucault, 1980a: 121).

When he spoke metaphorically of “cutting off the King’s head”- he implied that there is more to power and that the analysis of relations of power should go beyond the state.

Foucault (1980b: 199) viewed power as a *relationship*, arguing that:

In reality power means relations, a more- or- less organized, hierarchical, coordinated cluster of relations.

He proposed the perspective of power as a “productive network” which “runs through the whole social body”, and not simply one that functions as a force of repression (Foucault, 1980a: 119). He felt that power as a productive framework afforded an analytic of relations via a “grid of analysis” (Foucault, 1980c: 96). He framed his concept of power by certain methodological precautions. His first suggestion is that we analyse power at the extreme points of its exercise rather than the “regulated and legitimate forms of power in their central locations”. This idea is based on his view of power as,

...never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth (Foucault, 1980c: 89).

Foucault (1980c: 96-97) provides suggestions, such as those below, of where we should focus our studies of power:

We should be concerned with power at its extremities, in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions.In other words, one should try to locate power at the extreme points of its exercise, where it is always less legal in character.

On the basis of his idea that power circulates, Foucault proposed that we study it at its extremities.

Secondly, Foucault (1980c: 97) cautions us not to concern ourselves with power “from its internal point of view”. This is suggested in the following quotation from his work:

...power is neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and that it exists only in action (Foucault, 1980c: 89).

On this basis, Foucault (1980c: 97) encouraged the study of power “*in its external visage*”. He depicted this as a point where power is in direct and immediate relationship with its “*object, its target, its field of application*” or “*the point where it produces its effects*” (Foucault, 1980c: 97). He thus conveys the sense that we should study the myriad of bodies which are constituted as peripheral subjects as a result of the effects of power (Foucault, 1980c: 98).

His third methodological precaution is for us to be cognisant that “*individuals are the vehicles of power*” (Foucault, 1980c: 98). He conveys the idea of power as *dynamic*- in

other words “*as something which only functions in the form of a chain.*” His view is that “*Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization*” (Foucault, 1980c: 98). In this sense, not only do individuals circulate between its threads but “*they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power*” (Foucault, 1980c: 98).

As a fourth methodological point, Foucault (1980c: 98-99) cautions us not to attempt a deduction of power from its centre outward, but that we should conduct “*an ascending analysis of power, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms.*” He believed that mechanisms of power each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics. In the following quote, he encourages us to explore them fully:

...these mechanisms of power have been –and continue to be–invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended, etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination (Foucault, 1980c: 99).

The fifth cautionary point Foucault (1980c) raises is that power should not be studied as ideology. As he writes below, it should be studied as the production of effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge:

...all this means that power, when it is exercised through subtle mechanisms, cannot but evolve, organize and put into circulation a knowledge, or rather apparatuses of knowledge, which are not ideological constructs (Foucault, 1980c: 102).

With this idea he discourages us from believing that knowledge can be present only where power relations are suspended (Foucault, 1977). He writes below about the link between power and knowledge:

...power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations (Foucault, 1977: 27).

Foucault’s message is that we should accept that power produces knowledge.

As we interpret it, there are three key points underpinning Foucault's (1980c, 1977) power/knowledge standpoint. Firstly, Foucault suggests the idea of power as a relation and interlinked with knowledge. Secondly, he suggests that power exists primarily at the lowest level where individuals act as its vehicles. Thirdly, we encounter his argument that power can only be developed, and assessed through action, through discourse, through tactics and mechanisms. Foucault's three ideas have a direct link to intersubjective assessment and are therefore used to support the power/knowledge axis in this study. Reasons for this choice are provided below.

Intersubjective assessment theorists emphasize a broadening of the notion of assessment to include methods of assessment that are more 'dynamic' and "authentic", catching the *formative* notions of the learner in action, rather than merely trying to measure in a de-contextualised way, what has been learnt (Gipps, 1999). Foucault's idea of studying power as relational and as existing at the extremities of the social body fits well with the idea of focusing on the everyday experiences of learners. Knowledge of how power operates upon the body in everyday assessment encounters is valuable because as Foucault shows us, important action occurs in the everyday relationships in which people and groups experience power. Our conceptualising of power as relational brings to the fore several important questions for this study: Who is the relation between? What is the character of this relation? Is it one of control-subjugating the body of another to one's own interests, or is it one of empowering bodies? Within this productive framework, power in intersubjective assessment practice is considered as an on-going process in a field of strategic relations. Thus, the value in bringing Foucault's theory of productive power to assessment is that it brings to this study a perspective that accentuates fluidity and change.

In consideration of Foucault's ideas above, this study analyses power as a *productive network* of relations. The relations within intersubjective assessment are analyzed by way of a "grid of analysis", which is framed by the methodological precautions Foucault (1980c: 96) highlights in his writings. It proceeds with this analysis from a micro-level to reveal how tactics and mechanisms of power operate at the level of everyday life of

intersubjective assessment. To guide this aspect of the analysis, discussion is next dedicated to Foucault's ideas regarding the different tactics and mechanisms that operate at the level of everyday life. The modalities of *disciplinary power* and *bio-power* are the first two mechanisms historically explored by Foucault. In the latter part of his writing, Foucault (1977-1978) spoke at length of the techniques of *government* and *Pastoral power*. Each of these modalities of power is briefly reviewed below in terms of the aims and purposes of this study.

THE MECHANICS OF POWER

Disciplinary Power

Foucault depicts disciplinary power as the embodiment of disciplinary strategies. He saw it as responsible for "the mutation" of the punitive system that operated during the contemporary period (Foucault, 1977: 139). He writes the following about *discipline*:

Discipline may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a 'physics' or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology (Foucault, 1977: 215).

It is apparent that in Foucault's depiction of disciplinary power, *discipline* is a central idea. This idea is further apparent from Foucault's (1977: 138–39) writing, in which he discusses *discipline* as:

Small acts of cunning endowed with a great power of diffusion, subtle arrangements, apparently innocent, but profoundly suspicious, mechanisms that obeyed economics too shameful to be acknowledged, or pursued petty forms of coercion.

He conveys the idea of discipline as being a set of techniques and procedures, which are targeted at making individuals more productive and manageable. He portrayed this form of power as that which was focused on the body, as an "object of investments" (Foucault, 1977: 138).

Foucault (1977: 139) argued that the disciplinary techniques created a form of detailed political investment of the body which he called a “new micro-physics” of power. He believed that this power created a hold over others’ bodies where they did as another wished. It operated by dissociating power from the body, turning it into a “capacity” or “aptitude”, it worked to increase. In a sense, it worked to reverse the course of the energy, turning it into a form of subjection (Foucault, 1977: 138). In this way, discipline produces what Foucault (1977: 136) discusses below as ‘docile bodies’:

...the notion of ‘docility’ . . . joins the analysable body to the manipulable body.

A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved.

He advocates three elements he sees as integral to Disciplinary Power: “the creation of docile bodies”, “the means of correct training” and “Panopticism” (Foucault, 1977). Each of these elements is discussed below.

The creation of docile bodies

Foucault believed that several techniques work to assure “docility” (1977: 136-137). He advocated the “*art of distributions*”- a technique he likens below to the concept of the “monastic cell”, where the intention is to establish presences and absences:

...to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits (Foucault, 1977: 143).

The description above implies that spaces may be defined for supervisory needs, to break dangerous communications and to “create useful space” (Foucault, 1977: 144). Foucault (1977: 141) saw this technique as working towards docility by the principle of partitioning:

Discipline sometimes requires enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself.

The impression conveyed is that disciplinary machinery “works space” so that “*each individual has his own place; and each place its individual*” (Foucault, 1977: 143). He

clarifies that the ranking or individualising of bodies by locating them in space, does not fix them in any particular position, but distributes and circulates them in a *network of relations* (Foucault, 1977: 146-147).

Foucault (1977) also saw “docility” as occurring through the “*Control of activity*”. He saw the disciplinary intention in this technique, as to develop a well-disciplined body. He points to several ways in which discipline creates individuality out of the bodies that it controls. One of these is the drawing up of *timetables* (an “old inheritance” of monastic communities) as a technique to establish rhythms, impose particular occupations and regulate the cycles of repetition (Foucault, 1977: 149). In this case, discipline attempts to measure a “time of good quality” (Foucault, 1977: 151). The ‘control of activity’, as described by Foucault (1977: 152) below, involves the “*anatomo-chronological schema of behaviour*” or the prescription of the movements of individuals:

...to each movement is assigned a direction, an aptitude, a duration; their order of succession is prescribed. Time penetrates the body with all the meticulous controls of power.

Within the school context, this technique is associated with the “routines” and “rigorous codes” which invest the human body (Foucault, 1977: 152). Foucault (1977: 156) also advances “*body-object articulation*” as another way to control activity. In this case, discipline is seen to define the relationships between the body and the object that it manipulates. “*Exhaustive use*” is also seen as a technique to control activity. This technique forbade the wastage of time by manipulating the “natural body” through means of authority and classification (Foucault, 1977: 156).

The “*organization of geneses*” is suggested by Foucault (1977) as another tactic which works to ensure “docility”. Disciplinary power in this sense works like a machine: it adds up and capitalizes time in a “military” fashion (Foucault, 1977: 157). Firstly, it divides an interval of time into successive and parallel segments which it then organizes according to an analytical plan. Exercises are then designed to suit individuals in terms of level, seniority and rank (Foucault, 1977; 157-158). Foucault (1977) believed that “discipline” is not just about distributing bodies, of extracting time from them and accumulating it,

but also of “*the composition of forces*” in order to obtain an efficient machine. To illustrate this point he speaks of the soldier whose body is trained to function part by part—in a sense the body is depicted as a cog in a machine (Foucault, 1977: 164-166).

The means of correct training

Foucault’s ideas in *Discipline and Punish* suggest that the chief purpose of disciplinary power is to “train” and manage the actions of a larger group. He elaborates below on the concept of “training”:

It ‘trains’ the moving, confused, useless multitudes of bodies and forces it into a multiplicity of individual elements –small, separate cells, organic autonomies, genetic identities and continuities, combinatory segments (Foucault, 1977: 170).

He argues that disciplinary power acted on human bodies and their souls encouraging values of productivity and efficiency through the effective use of the three instruments; “hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and examination” (Foucault, 1977: 170). In the description offered below, Foucault (1977: 170-171) depicts *Hierarchical observation* as a disciplinary technique of coercion through observation:

The exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that made it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible.

By this description, Foucault (1977) suggests that this mechanism of control operates by employing new ideas of light and visibility to formulate a new knowledge of people. Thus, discipline does not work by force but through a calculated “gaze” (Foucault, 1977).

Normalising judgement, as Foucault (1977: 179) suggests, involves actions that define appropriate and inappropriate behaviour; establish norms of appropriate conduct; impose penalties to discourage non-conformity and reward the internalisation of these norms. This mechanism functions on the basis of a small penal mechanism which applies its own judicial privilege, with laws, specific offences, and particular forms of judgement

(Foucault, 1977: 177). Any departures from correct behaviour were subject to punishment in the form of light physical punishment to minor deprivations and petty humiliations (Foucault, 1977: 178). He writes that “non-observance” was also punishable: if behaviour did not meet the rule it was seen to depart from it. In this way, the disciplinary system differentiates “individuals themselves, of their nature, their potentialities, their level or their value” (Foucault, 1977: 181). Foucault (1977) suggests that marks of status which were used in earlier times were replaced by the idea of belonging to a “normal” group. The extract quoted below, elaborates on his views of the effects of this technique:

...the power of normalisation imposes homogeneity; but it individualises by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them into one another (Foucault, 1977: 184).

Foucault (1977) conveys the impression that normalization made people homogeneous.

The third instrument, *the examination*, puts together the “*techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgment.*” (Foucault, 1977: 184) He speaks of the examination as a “*normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish*” (Foucault, 1977: 184). He believed that the examination transformed visibility into the exercise of power. He explains below how, through this technique, the individual became disciplined into subjection, by always being seen:

...it establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them (Foucault, 1977: 184).

The extract quoted below suggests that Foucault (1977; 189) also believed that the individual became disciplined through documentation:

The examination that places individuals in a field of surveillance also situates them in a network of writing; it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them.

The idea is conveyed that the examination, through its documentary techniques, treats each individual as a “case” that may be “*described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his individuality; trained, corrected, classified, normalised, excluded, etc.*”

(Foucault, 1977: 191) Foucault (1977) portrays the *Examination* as instrumental in constituting the individual as an object of power, as well as an object of knowledge.

Panopticism

Foucault (1977) introduces the disciplinary mechanism of *panopticism*, through the image of the plague. He spoke of measures that had to be taken against the plague in the seventeenth century: the partitioning of space and closing off houses, constant inspection and the operation of quarantine and purification processes. The intention, he argues, was to create a pure society with plague measures aimed at a disciplined community (Foucault, 1977: 195-197). He suggests that the fear created by the plague, brought forth a whole set of techniques for measuring, supervising and controlling abnormal beings. These techniques were encapsulated in a structure called the Panopticon (Foucault, 1977: 197). He adopted the panopticon to symbolise the working of the elements of discipline and punishment in modern society. His argument was that most modern mechanisms for controlling individuals have derived from this model.

In Foucault's (1977) writings the Panopticon is depicted as a scheme of power in action because it facilitated the processes of observation and examination. Structurally, it is described as:

...a ring-shaped building in the middle of which there is a yard with a tower at the centre. The ring is divided into little cells that face the interior and the exterior alike. In each of these cells there is, depending on the purpose of the institution, a child learning to write, a worker at work, a prisoner correcting himself, a madman living his madness. In the central tower there is an observer. Since each cell faces both the inside and the outside, the observer's gaze can traverse the whole cell; there is no dimly lit space, so everything the individual does is exposed to the gaze of an observer who watches through shuttered windows or spy holes in such a way as to be able to see everything without anyone being able to see him (Foucault, cited in Piomelli, 2004: 432).

Foucault (1977) wrote that the structure of the panopticon creates a form of “*compulsory visibility*” on its subjects: the placing of a tower in the centre of a ring of cells strategically aimed to allow for the constantly monitoring of the occupants by guards. This also suggests that the occupants of the cells are always aware of being watched by the guards in the tower (Foucault, 1977: 187).

Foucault (1977: 202) suggests below that a certain visibility is created by a form of *surveillance* or *hierarchical observation* where:

[h]e who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection.

One gets the sense that the individual internalises the surveillance as either correct or incorrect, then engages in self-surveillance and so conforms to the existing rules. He suggested that the structure of the panopticon allowed for power to operate with ease and efficiency, facilitating the disciplinary techniques of observation and analysis of individuals. The effectiveness of this “gaze”, he argues, is dependent on its *lightness*, *speed*, and *invisibility* (Foucault, 1977: 209). Through *lightness* and *speed*, opportunities for resistance are prevented while *invisibility* prevents the observed from seeing its effects. The combination of these qualities leaves one with nowhere to direct one’s resistance. In this portrayal, disciplinary power is everywhere, creating an “all-embracing” and “totalizing” situation which contributes favourably to individuals becoming docile bodies – ready to be studied and disciplined (Foucault, 1977: 164).

Foucault depicted the “disciplinary society” as one which operates through strategies of normalisation (McNay, 1994: 94). He spoke of the “judges of normality” such as the social worker, the teacher, the doctor, and other such persons who assess and diagnose other individuals according to a normalising set of assumptions called the “carceral network of power-knowledge” (Foucault, 1977, cited in McNay, 1994: 95). His point is that individuals are controlled through the power of the norm. The effectiveness of this power is its invisibility: individuals are not regulated through overt means but through a

set of standards and values associated with normality (McNay, 1994: 95). In Foucault's (1977: 44) view, these characteristics made panopticism dangerous because it served as a channel through which social norms became embedded in daily life, and the individual became 'constructed' to think and act in particular ways. His fear was that it promoted a disciplinary society (Foucault, 1977: 209).

Disciplinary Power and this study

Foucault (1977: 202) speaks about the 'school' as instrumental in defining relations within the institution and in the classroom, its creation of certain subjectivities, as well as the way in which it organizes space and time according to particular discourses. His ideas suggest that classrooms are very similar to the Panopticon in architecture. He provides us with a valuable framework which is cognisant of the silent and subtle role the structures of the school and the classroom play, in defining classroom interaction. Foucault's (1977) notion of disciplinary power, and its operation in the Panopticon, is used in this analysis to show how discipline works in everyday situations of assessment.

Using panoptic constructs, the following issues within intersubjective assessment practices are explored: What forms of discipline does it authorize? *Where* and *how* is this discipline applied? What educational opportunities does it foreclose? What suggestions are made by intersubjective assessment about the movements of individuals? What does intersubjective assessment authorize and classify in terms of the body? To facilitate such an analysis in this study, an observational plan was adapted to the three elements Foucault (1977) regards as integral to disciplinary power. The observational plan is elaborated below.

Foucault's (1977: 152) construct of the "creation of docile bodies", guides the analysis of how spaces are defined in intersubjective assessment. This lens is also used to analyse the control of activity in intersubjective assessment. Through Foucault's (1977) idea of "the art of distributions", the aspects of spatial, temporal and symbolic organizational factors

of the classroom are given consideration. An investigation is conducted, into how each of these structures may be suggestive of power relations and appropriate ways of behaviour. Foucault's (1977) construct of "the organization of geneses" guides the analysis of how relations of time, bodies and forces are described in intersubjective assessment practice. Foucault's (1977: 164-166) concept of "the composition of forces" is employed to give consideration to the body's functioning within the machine of disciplinary power.

Foucault's (1977) construct of "The means of correct training" guides the exploration of the three techniques of power he highlights above. Using the notion of "hierarchical observation", focus is given to the possibilities of coercion through observation in intersubjective assessment practices. "Normalising judgement" is used as a framework to note those actions within intersubjective assessment that possibly define appropriate and inappropriate behaviour; establish norms of appropriate conduct; impose penalties to discourage non-conformity and reward the internalisation of these norms (Foucault, 1977: 179). In other words, the issue of normalisation in intersubjective assessment is explored.

Foucault's (1977) notion of "Examination", in *Disciplinary Power*, is used to analyse subtle organizational strategies in the processes of documentation. Following his point that disciplinary power treats individuals as "cases", consideration is given to possibilities of learners being "described, judged, measured, compared with others, trained, corrected, classified, normalised, and excluded" (Foucault, 1977: 191). Focus is also given to possibilities of individuation through assessment documentation such as portfolios, report cards, homework books, and other assessment records. In sum, documents are analysed as an important part of the construction of the power-knowledge structures of intersubjective assessment.

Bio-power

While disciplinary power is concerned with the control of individual bodies, another modern form of power, which Foucault (1978: 139) called "bio-power," is concerned

with controlling and shaping the social body. In his lectures at: *Lectures at the Collège de France* (1977-1978: 16), Foucault says the following about biopower:

By this I mean a number of phenomena that seem to me to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the eighteenth century, modern western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species. This is roughly what I have called biopower.

In Foucault's (1978: 139) descriptions, bio-power comes across as the complement to discipline; where discipline is an "*anatomo-politics of the human body*," bio-power is "*a biopolitics of the population*".

In the chapter, *Right of Death and Power Over Life*, Foucault (1978: 135) speaks of the privilege the sovereign held over the right of life and death of his subjects. He saw this "right of life" in reality as a "right of death". The sense conveyed, is that the sovereign decided whether or not someone would be killed. As (Foucault, 1978: 136) writes:

...power in this sense was essentially a right to seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself; it culminated in the privilege to seize hold of life in order to suppress it.

Foucault (1978: 136) depicts this form of sovereign power as a form of "deduction", which he portrays below as working to:

...incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize and organise the forces under it: a power bent on generating forces, making them grow and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit or destroying them.

As Foucault saw it, deduction took away life, taxes, property and other such privileges from its subjects.

Foucault (1978: 139) elaborates that the "power over life" evolved in two basic "poles of development". The first of these is centred on the "*body as a machine*" and the second, on the "*species of the body*" (Foucault, 1978: 139). This supervision, in Foucault's (1978: 139) view, is affected by a series of *regulatory controls on the body*- a "bio-politics of the

population”. Thus the *anatomo-and bio-politics of power* suggests a form of power whose function was no longer to kill, but to invest life. In Foucault’s (1978:139-140) words:

The old power of death that symbolized sovereign power was now carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life.

Foucault (1978: 145) uses this background to explain how sex came to be seen as a political issue: On the one hand, it was tied to the disciplines of the body and, on the other it was applied to the regulations of the populations. He saw it as fitting both categories at once- giving rise to an entire micro-power dealing with the body. The idea Foucault (1978) conveys is that the new power over life suggested that human life was politically controlled.

Biopower and this study

Foucault’s (1978) concept of “bio-power”, which offers ideas about the controlling and shaping the social body, does not have the kind of application to this study that disciplinary power has. Such an analysis would have entailed an extensive scrutiny of texts, assessment documents and examinations. Usefully, these would have revealed the mechanisms of control that are put in place by macro forces in order to produce a normalising effect within the learner and teacher bodies. While such a picture of power may have served to enhance and enrich this genealogical inquiry, my analysis of this modality of power remains at the level of the theory: my empirical data did not lend itself to such a form of analysis.

Governmentality

Foucault (1991b: 109) describes governmentality as:

The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of

knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

He depicts this form of power as a *triangle*, involving the integration of three forms of power: “*sovereignty-discipline-government*” (Foucault, 1991b: 102). In terms of sovereignty he suggests the states of domination; with disciplinary power he suggests discipline and in terms of government, that of others and self. Foucault’s (1997c: 88) following description of governmentality is suggestive of “the art of governing”:

...as a domain of strategic relations focusing on the behaviour of the other or others, and employing various procedures and techniques according to the case, the institutional frameworks, social groups, and historical periods in which they develop.

His writing suggests that he did not see *governing* as forced down on individuals from the macro-political level as is believed in the conventional sense of the term *government*. Instead, his notion of governmentality portrays the de-centering of power in a society where members actively govern themselves. It is in this context that he speaks of “*neoliberal governmentality*”. Foucault (1997d: 74) elaborates this conception, stating that:

Neo-liberalism is a mentality of rule because it represents a method of rationalising the exercise of government, a rationalisation that obeys the internal rule of maximum economy.

Foucault’s conception of *Governmentality* conveys the idea of a strategic form of power which does not force individuals to comply. It does not deny individuals of choice; but takes for granted their willing adoption of certain technologies. In a sense, it depicts individuals’ active participation in their own subjectification (Foucault, 1997d).

Foucault (1997c) sees *governmentality* as the intersection of two technologies of power; *technologies of the self* with *technologies of power*. The latter (technologies of self) relates to “the government of the self by oneself in its articulation with relations with others” (Foucault, 1997c: 88). The former (technologies of power) relates to a “relationship in which one person tries to control the conduct of the other” (Foucault, 1997f: 292). In one dimension Foucault suggests that power relations are used by

professionals to control others by classifying, objectifying, and normalizing them as persons who will lead useful, docile, and practical lives. In the other, he suggests that technologies of power are used to control the self. Foucault's versions of governmentality express differences in how we govern from the micro or individual level as opposed to being governed from above at or the macro level of institutions as was traditionally believed to be the case.

Dean (1999) provides a more nuanced version of Foucault's (1997c, 1997d) concept of governmentality. As quoted below, he splits the term governmentality into two parts: 'govern' and 'mentality':

...governmentality is concerned with how we govern and how we are governed, and with the relation between the government of ourselves, the government of others, and the government of the state (Dean, 1999: 2-3).

Dean usefully highlights the different "mentalities" Foucault depicted of governmentality, suggesting that its work is focused on the 'how' of governing. Dean's (1999) analysis highlights Foucault's use of the verb "to conduct oneself". He interprets Foucault's use of the word *conduct*, in terms of three actions: leading or directing; our ways in the ethical or moral sense and our behaviours, our actions and even our comportment (Dean, 1999). He writes that:

...these actions presume a set of standards or norms of conduct by which actual behaviour can be judged, and act as a kind of ideal towards which individuals and groups should strive (Dean, 1999: 10).

Dean (1999) reflects the belief that, in all three actions, a sense of self-guidance or self-regulation may be involved.

Dean (1999: 10-11) highlights the perspective of government as the "conduct of conduct". He writes below of this as the act of one controlling another's behaviour:

From the perspective of those who seek to govern, human conduct is conceived as something that can be regulated, controlled, shaped and turned to specific ends (Dean, 1999: 10-11).

In the strong likelihood of our being externally controlled, he raises the issue below of why it is important to conduct an analytics of Governmentality:

An analytics of government attempts to show that our taken-for-granted ways of doing things and how we think about and question them, are not entirely self evident or necessary. An analytics of a particular regime of practices, at a minimum, seeks to identify the emergence of a particular regime, examine the multiple sources of the elements that constitute it, and follow the diverse processes and relations by which these elements are assembled into relatively stable forms of organization and institutional practice. It examines how such a regime gives rise to and depends upon particular forms of knowledge and how, as a consequence of this, it becomes the target of various programmes of reform and change (Dean, 1999: 21).

Dean (1999) suggests that individuals, who are governed, may not understand the unnaturalness of this way of life because they take it for granted. He believes that the same activity in which they engage “*can be regarded as a different form of practice depending on the mentalities that invest it*” (Dean 1999: 17). He argues for a study of government which could be conducted through an analysis of cases in which the practice of governing is put into question (Dean 1999).

Governmentality and this study

This research project follows Dean’s (1999) interpretation of Foucault’s (1997c, 1997d) arguments and takes Governmentality into consideration by tracing intersubjective assessment as a new regime of practice. It traces its emergence examining its multiples sources, key stakeholders, constitution and institutional practices. In analyzing the regimes of government, it identifies and examines specific situations in which the activity of governing comes to be called into question. In a sense, it questions how authorities direct their own and others’ conduct in intersubjective assessment.

Police and Pastoral Power

In the lecture entitled, *Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of Political Reason* (1981), Foucault outlines the notion of “police” that emerges through term “apparatuses of security”. In the second of these lectures, he discusses how this idea of “pastorship” combines with the state (Foucault, 1981: 227). His reference to “police” indicates a cluster of apparatuses of security, which he portrays as central to governing the modern state (McNay, 1994: 119). In the following description, Foucault (1981: 250) conveys the impression that the police ensure life:

...life is the object of the police; the indispensable, the useful, and the superfluous. That people survive, live, and even do better than just that, is what the police have to ensure.

Foucault (1981) also discusses a further cluster of apparatuses of security denoted by pastoral power. In this description, he relates the notion of “pastorship” to Christian tradition - particularly that of the Hebrews. In the extract quoted below, he portrays these pastoral techniques as power which is subtly diffused throughout society:

They deal with the relations between political power at work within the state as a legal framework of unity, and a power we can call ‘pastoral’, whose role is to constantly ensure, sustain, and improve the lives of each and every one (Foucault, 1981: 235).

From Foucault’s (1981) description, one gets the impression that pastoral power was intended at improving lives.

Foucault (1981: 227) explains the dynamics of pastoral power through the metaphor of the king or “*or the leader, as a shepherd followed by a flock of sheep*”. He speaks below of the shepherd’s role in gathering together and unifying his flock in a way that ensures their salvation:

It’s not only a matter of saving them all, all together, when danger comes nigh. It’s a matter of constant, individualised, and final kindness. Constant kindness, for the shepherd ensures his flock’s food; every day he attends to their thirst and hunger (Foucault, 1981: 229).

He points out that under Christianity, the elements of pastorship are intensified in the sense that the shepherd must account not just for sheep but also for “*all the good or evil they are liable to do, all that happens to them*” (Foucault, 1988d: 68). Thus, within the Christian conception, the relationship between the shepherd and flock is transformed from one of “*obedience to absolute individual dependence*” (Foucault, 1988d: 69). This idea is conveyed below, from the perspective of the shepherd:

...*Christian pastorship implies a peculiar type of knowledge between the pastor and each of his sheep* (Foucault, 1981: 237).

Foucault’s (1981) metaphorical discussion suggests that the shepherd individualizes his flock making certain to know each sheep in detail.

Foucault (1981: 227) depicts pastoral power as totalizing in the sense that “*it is intended to rule in a continuous and permanent way*”. Thus the shepherd would “*assume responsibility for the destiny of the whole flock*” (Foucault, 1981: 236). It is against this background that Foucault (1981: 239) highlights the “confessional”- a regulatory technique brought forth by pastoral power. As he points out, in the quotation below, the techniques such as confession; guidance and obedience are intended to:

...*get individuals to work at their own ‘mortification’ in this world. Mortification is not death, of course, but it is a renunciation of this world and of oneself: a kind of everyday death. A death which is supposed to provide life in another world...*
(Foucault, 1981: 239)

Foucault (1981) felt that the focus of power was no longer the liberation of individuals in the next world, but rather that of enhancing their existence in this world. In a way, pastoral power is similar to disciplinary power. However, rather than seeking to shape the individual’s conduct as in the case of disciplinary power, pastoral power is aimed at shaping individual self-identity (Foucault, 1981: 254). Thus Christian *pastorship* implies an individualised knowledge between shepherd and each sheep where the shepherd gets to know what is in the soul of each sheep (Foucault, 1981).

Pastoral Power and this study

Foucault (1981) conveys the idea of Pastoral power as an individualizing form of power, which attempts to normalize its subjects by gaining detailed knowledge about them. This is a valuable concept for the study of intersubjective assessment practice. The essence of this form of power in the assessment context is that, if a learner shares his innermost thoughts he would be at the mercy of the teacher and other learners, since they possess knowledge of his conscience. Thus learners can be subjugated by both teachers and classmates through such mechanisms of exploitation. Foucault (1981) argues that one could gain knowledge of the conscience of another under the guise of *care and concern* for the well being of another. Foucault's (1981) concept of *Pastoral power* is explored in this analysis particularly because it invites critical attention to the relationships between learners and teachers, the nature and role of teachers' expertise, and the everyday lives of learners.

The discussions above, which have been primarily drawn from *Discipline and Punish* (1977), have given focus largely to the negative effects of power-knowledge. Consideration is given below to the ideas *Freedom, Resistance and the Subject* as portrayed in Foucault's work, *The History of Sexuality* (1978). The following discussion looks at Foucault's ideas on the positive effects of power-knowledge. The key debates regarding these issues are subsequently highlighted.

Freedom, Resistance and the Subject

Throughout his work, Foucault emphasised his concern with the 'subject'. In his self-characterisation he states:

The goal of my work during the last twenty years has not been to analyse the phenomenon of power, nor to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis. My objective instead has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects. (Rabinow, 1984a: 7)

His interviews, such as that in 1984, reflect that he spent much time scrutinising the issue of how the subject entered into the “*game of truth*” (Foucault, 1997f: 280). These interviews also show that he looked at practices of “*self on the self*” or the attempts made by an individual to transform himself or herself (Foucault, 1997f: 282). Foucault (1997f: 283) conceptualised such “games” as “*practices of freedom over practices of liberation*”. He felt that liberation paved the way for new power relationships (Foucault, 1997f: 284). His writings (such as the excerpt quoted below) also indicate that he reformulated power to include the element of freedom:

Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free
(Foucault, 1997f: 292).

Foucault’s (1997f) work therefore shows that he attempted to dismantle the idea of freedom as liberation from power through “truth”. In doing so, he shows that liberation is a product of a regime of power.

Foucault (1997f) believed that there cannot be power relations without the possibility of resistance. He argues that because power relations are “*mobile, reversible, and unstable*”, the possibility exists for resistance as “*strategic reversal, violent resistance, flight or deception*” (Foucault, 1997f: 292). His view is that resistance does not function outside of power, but rather as positions *within* power, as reactions *to* power, or as *productions* of new expressions of power. His point is that if there is no possibility of resistance- then it is suggestive of violence and not of power. He implied that just as power is everywhere, so too is resistance (Foucault, 1997f).

Foucault (1978) also portrays a similar picture of discourses. He writes below that they are not purely the projection of power mechanisms, but something in which power and knowledge are combined:

...we must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy (Foucault, 1978: 100- 101).

He suggests that while discourse serves to mediate power; it can simultaneously offer possibilities to resist it. Foucault's thought in this area suggests that discourse can produce and transmit power by reinforcing it, but it can also undermine and prevent it (power).

The work of Gane (1986) reflects that Foucault's work in this area has been widely criticized by writers such as Jurgen Habermas, Charles Taylor, Nancy Fraser, Nancy Hartsock, Judith Butler, Hayden White, among others. In the following extract from his book, *Philosophy and the human sciences* (1985: 174), Taylor questions the place of freedom in Foucault's propositions of power:

'Power' without 'freedom' or 'truth': can there really be an analysis which uses the notion of power, and leaves no place for freedom or truth?

Additionally, his essay in Hoy (1986: 92), a part of which is quoted below, argues that Foucault's model lacks "the idea of liberation", offering no real hope of overturning domination:

[Foucault] dashes the hope, if we had one, that there is some good we can affirm, as a result of the understanding these analyses give us. And by the same token, he seems to raise a question whether there is such a thing as a way out (Taylor, 1986: 69).

Taylor (1986: 69) describes Foucault's propositions of power as paradoxical in the sense that he appears to work towards bringing "evils to light"; yet he distances himself from the idea, that the overcoming of these evils promotes good. Taylor's (1986: 70) work questions whether there is confusion/contradiction or a "genuinely original position", presented by Foucault's idea of power? He concedes that while there *is* some of both elements, the nature of the combination is difficult to understand (Taylor, 1986: 70).

The literature reflects a strong defence of Foucault's approach to power. For example, Viriasova (2006), who is cited in Taylor (1986), feels that the critique above reflects a misunderstanding of Foucault's aim of challenging traditional thought. Viriasova feels that Taylor (1986) understands freedom and liberation in a traditional sense, while Foucault presents an alternative view. Another writer exemplary of such thought is Ball

(1990), who believes that Foucault's philosophy was basically optimistic and suggestive of his strong belief in human freedom. Ball (1990: 2) cites the following extract of Foucault's work which illustrates this point:

My role- and that is too emphatic a word-is to show people that they are much freer than they feel, that people accept as truth, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at certain moment during history...

A question asked by Ball (1990) is, if Foucault did not find place for freedom then why would he present his genealogies as acts of "opposition", and his work as a way of "resistance"?

There are other authors who not only defend Foucault's proposals for power, but offer several productive suggestions for research. For example, Benauer (1988e), who suggests that the value of Foucault's work is the characteristic manner in which it, questions itself. Smart (1983) argues that the activity of critique is indeed at the very heart of genealogical analysis. He cites Foucault's (1991) following view on the element of critique:

Critique doesn't have to be the premise of a deduction which concludes: this then is what needs to be done. It should be an instrument for those who fight, those who resist and refuse what it is. Its use should be in processes of conflict and confrontation, essays in refusal. It doesn't have to lay down the law for law. It isn't a stage in a programming. It is a challenge directed to what is (Smart, 1983: 137).

Smart (1983) sees Foucault's (1977) description of genealogy as research directed towards producing critical discourses. He argues that the function of such discourses, as intended by Foucault, is to interrupt the smooth passage of "regimes of truth". In other words, to disrupt those forms of knowledge which have assumed a self-evident quality, and to bring about a state of uncertainty in these power-knowledge relations (Smart, 1983).

In cognisance of the above ideas, this study attempts to maximise the potential of genealogy a tool for critical analysis. This study accepts Foucault's (1980c, 80-81) idea that in pursuing a genealogical path, we may be able break out of the spaces that have

been carved out by conventional histories, and be given access to the histories which have formally been “*disguised by “functionalist or systematising thought*”. This genealogical study, in agreement with Foucault (1980c:81) intends to “loosen the grip” that functionalist accounts have over our perceptions and our apparent possibilities in assessment. The goal of this study is to find alternate spaces for the development of self-understanding, in intersubjective assessment practices.

SECTION C

GENEALOGICAL TOOLS

This section provides the rationale for the decision, to conduct an analysis of discourses in intersubjective assessment practices via four angles of scrutiny.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS VIA FOUR “ANGLES OF SCRUTINY”

Foucault’s (1984: 109) idea, that everything we are familiar with in our world is formed and reformed through discourses, underpins this genealogical analysis. Foucault’s idea of discourse goes beyond giving focus to signs and meaning in language. As with Foucault, this study does not perceive of discourses simply as texts, but as a form of power. As my interest lay in the power relations and the subjects constituted in intersubjective assessment practices, I conducted an analysis of the discourses in intersubjective assessment practices at “C” High School.

Foucault (1977a: 145) argues for three senses of “history” in “recording the true objective of genealogy”. These senses, which he draws from Nietzsche’s work in the *Genealogy of Morals*, include *Ursprung* (the rejection of a search for origins), *Herkunft* (a search for descent), and *Entstehung* (which suggests the idea of emergence without any necessary order) (Foucault, 1977a: 145). Harwood (2000) derives a useful grid to analyse “truth”, from Foucault’s concepts of descent and emergence. As her “stratagem” for disturbing the truth of Conduct Disorder and mentally disordered subjectivity in her study, Harwood uses four “tactics” or “angles of scrutiny” based on Foucault’s “senses in history” (2000: 54). Her strategy includes the angles of *discontinuity*, *contingency*, *emergence* and *subjugated knowledges*.

Harwood’s (2000) stratagem (as shown below) showed promise for this study’s intention of drawing attention to the present. Her suggested angles of scrutiny, when adapted to

this study, potentially made it possible to unsettle the conceptual foundation of present understandings in intersubjective assessment. Harwood's suggested four angles of scrutiny were therefore used to map both the demands and the boundaries of this genealogical analysis. Her diagrammatic depiction of her stratagem is reproduced below (Harwood, 2000: 55). This is followed by a justification for the use of her ideas in this study.

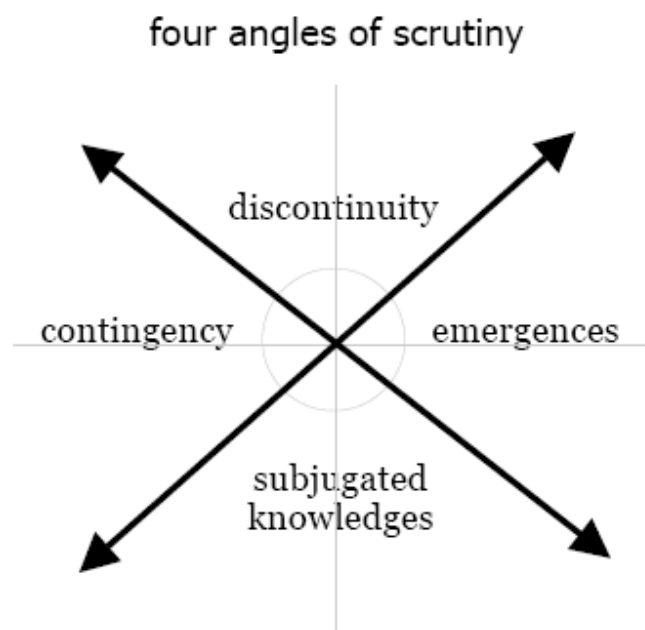


Figure 1: "Four angles of scrutiny: Reproduced from Harwood (2000: 5)

The angle of discontinuity

Harwood's (2000) use of *discontinuity* as a tool, acknowledges Foucault's (1977a) notions of *Ursprung* and *Herkunft* in genealogy. Through the notion of *Ursprung*, Foucault (1977a) argues for the disruption of historical continuities. In the previous chapter, Foucault (1991a) advised us not to unveil any holistic, complete or unified picture of the evolution of a phenomenon. He points out that such a portrayal, would point to "*that which was already there*" (Foucault, 1991a: 78). Foucault (1991a: 79)

perceives of the truth as the history of errors which has “*hardened into an unalterable form in the long baking process of history.*” He argues for *Herkunft* (descent) encouraging us to deconstruct “truths” by showing how it “*was fabricated in piecemeal fashion from alien forms*” (Foucault, 1991a: 78). He thus encourages us to rupture continuity through the identification of “accidents”, “deviations”, “complete reversals”, and “transformations” (Foucault, 1984c: 81-83).

As genealogist, my intention was not to systematize or produce universal ideas about intersubjective assessment, but to work towards an “effective history” which focused on events and singularities. Harwood’s (2000) use of the angle of *discontinuity*, acknowledges Foucault’s idea of giving attention to the breakages, ruptures, errors and chance events that have created the “truth” about a phenomenon. Harwood’s (2000) approach helped me to locate specific breaks and ruptures in intersubjective assessment, and so reflect its “*most unique characteristics*” (Foucault, 1984c: 88). In short, it helped in my genealogical aim of fragmenting and dispersing the “truths” suggested by intersubjective assessment. Thus, to unsettle ‘accepted’ truths in the practices of intersubjective assessment at “C” High School, I adopted Harwood’s (2000) angle of *discontinuity*.

The angle of contingency

Harwood (2000: 55) uses the angle of *contingency* to “*bring to the surface the contingent nature of ‘self-evident’ truths such as Conduct Disorder.*” Her use of this genealogical tool, acknowledges Foucault’s (1984c: 77) advice to break with self-evidences about phenomena by constructing their external relations of intelligibility. As Foucault (1984c: 83) says, in his genealogical work he attempted to:

...wear away certain self-evidences and commonplaces about madness, normality, illness, crime and punishment...

Foucault (1984c) encouraged the notion of “eventalisation” because he believed that it is necessary to bring out the multifaceted character of elements at work in moments of

emergence, rather than looking into their causes and destiny. He elaborates this point below:

As a way of lightening the weight of causality, ‘eventalization’ thus works by constructing around the singular event analysed as process a ‘polygon’ or rather a ‘polyhedron’ of intelligibility, the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite. One has to proceed by progressive, necessarily incomplete saturation (Foucault, 1984c: 77).

In speaking of a “polyhedron” of intelligibility, Foucault (1984c: 76) sees the analysis of an event according to the multiple processes which constitute it.

Harwood’s (2000) suggestion, of *contingency* as a genealogical tool, is in keeping with Foucault’s (1984c) idea of analysing an event from multiple perspectives, dimensions and angles. This study therefore employed Harwood’s (2000) suggestion of *contingency*, using it to rediscover the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces and strategies which establish the self-evidence of intersubjective assessment. This inquiry also adopted Harwood’s (2000: 56) following tactical questions to unearth the dependent nature of truths:

...why did that work? How did that hold up?”, and “....on what conditions or occurrences was the particular behaviour contingent?

The angle of emergence

Foucault (1977a: 148-149) portrays *Enstehung* as:

...the entry of forces; it is their eruption, the leap from the wings to centre stage, each in its youthful strength.

At another point in his writing he projects it as:

...the moment of arising” when “the current series of subjugations” comes together in a “hazardous play of dominations that have given birth to our way of existence (Foucault, 1977a: 149).

Foucault (1984c: 19) encourages us not to view historical ‘developments’ as:

Culminations of historical processes, intentions of great actors, or hidden political designs...

He felt that these should instead be seen as, “*as manifestations of the balances of power over people.*”

Harwood (2000) employs the angle of *Emergence* to find out how things happened in terms of Conduct Disorder. As is apparent from the extract quoted below, Foucault (1977a: 145) encouraged us to refrain from treating the present in any final way or “as a result of historical development”, but rather as the “product” of “numberless beginnings”:

Where the soul pretends unification or the self fabricates a coherent identity, the genealogist sets out to study the beginning-numberless beginnings whose faint traces and hints of colour are readily seen by an historical eye.

Harwood’s (2000) use of “emergence” acknowledges Foucault’s idea that “truth” was created or materialised from “beginnings”. Her suggestion of “emergence” is adopted as a further angle of scrutiny in this study. This strategy allows us to see that the condition of truth in intersubjective assessment practices materialized from somewhere.

The angle of subjugated knowledges

Harwood (2000: 57) employed the idea of subjugated knowledges as a fourth angle of scrutiny in her study of Conduct Disorder. Citing Foucault (1980: 83), she highlights the importance of “subjugated knowledges” in unearthing the individual voices silenced by hegemony:

Let us give the term genealogy to the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today. This then would be provisional definition of the genealogies which I have attempted to compile with you over the last few years (Harwood, 2000: 58).

Harwood (2000: 59) employs this angle of scrutiny in a two-fold way –giving consideration to subjugated erudite knowledge and subjugated disqualified knowledge.

To support this strategy, Harwood (2000: 59) quotes from Foucault's (1980: 81) ideas on subjugated erudite knowledges in *Two Lectures*:

The historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systematisation...

Harwood (2000: 59) argues that with the 'formal systematisation' of a truth (such as in Conduct Disorder in her case), certain erudite knowledges would have been by implication, been "buried". She sees these "buried" knowledges as those that might have been oppositional or critical of the dominating knowledges. She highlights the idea that, "*wherever there are dominating knowledges the genealogist can find buried discourse*" (Harwood, 2000: 59). Her corresponding argument is that "*wherever knowledges have been 'buried', domineering knowledges can be located*" (Harwood, 2000: 58). An important part of Harwood's (2000) discussion is that subjugated knowledges have an 'insurrectionary' quality — suggesting that they can be utilised to locate discontinuity, contingency and emergence within a phenomenon.

Harwood's (2000) angle of "subjugated knowledges" is vital for my study: through an identification of "subjugated knowledges" or "points of domination" in intersubjective assessment, moments of discontinuity in the knowledge of intersubjective assessment may be implied. Harwood (2000: 59) suggests that "subjugated knowledges" may be unearthed only through a meticulous search for the "traces" of the play of dominations. This study uses Harwood's (2000) idea of subjugated knowledges as a tool to work towards the "insurrection" of the "buried" (suppressed and oppressed) voices within the discourse of intersubjective assessment.

Apart from the above-mentioned angles that are adopted from Harwood's (2000) work, other strategies are used to analyse the multiple discourses drawn from data in the study. The study also offers narratives of each of the selected extracts in order to provide knowledge of elements that exist outside the text. Each of these narratives (five in total) speaks about the relations of objects and people in the vicinity of the text. These include

descriptions of non-verbal language such as voice quality, gestures, facial expressions and touch.

Dealing with the deconstruction of discourse was not a simple, value-free activity. Foucault writes about this aspect in *Discipline and Punish* (1977), particularly in his idea of the *gaze* being connected to power and surveillance. He argues that the person who gazes is empowered over the person who is the object of the gaze. As a genealogist, I do not claim to speak from a value-free position; rather, I speak as part of the discourses I have created. Such a position affected how I wrote, how I analysed and understood the phenomenon I analysed. My aim in this genealogical analysis was not to make value judgements of the rationalities I analysed. What I tried to do was to analyse how different rationalities have been constructed in different practices of intersubjective assessment. Thus, it is the reader who must judge whether the story I have constructed is convincing.

CHAPTER THREE

PROBLEMATISATIONS

“We have to be there at the birth of ideas, the bursting outward of their force: not in books expressing them, but in events manifesting this force, in struggles carried on around ideas, for or against them.”

(Foucault, 1978, cited in Eribon, 1992: 282)

Foucault encourages us to disturb “truths” that are projected in society as grand narratives. He conveys the idea of “truth” as the “history of errors which has hardened through the long baking process of history” (Foucault, 1991: 79. In cognisance of Foucault’s idea, an attempt is made in this chapter to chip away the layers which have created coherence and continuity in intersubjective assessment. This stage is vital to this study’s quest to “unmake” “truth” in intersubjective assessment. The journey into the constitution or “making” of the notion of intersubjective assessment is conducted in four sections: Section A looks into the birth of the notion of intersubjectivity from a philosophical standpoint. Section B looks into the application of the intersubjective philosophy within the educational context. It uses three definitions offered by Matusov (2001) as lenses. Section C examines the key constituting principles of the notion of intersubjective assessment and Section D conducts a review into the practices of intersubjective assessment.

SECTION A

UNEARTHING PHILOSOPHICAL NOTIONS OF “INTERSUBJECTIVITY”

In this section the notion of “intersubjectivity” is analysed from the basis of Edmund Husserl’s (1859-1938) phenomenological ideas. Husserl’s ideas are regarded as key, because they have fuelled several critical alternatives of the notion of intersubjectivity. Focus is given to the work of writers including Schutz (1899-1959), Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961), Buber (1878-1965) and Habermas (1984, 1987 and 1998). This particular approach does not imply that intersubjectivity is exclusive to phenomenology. Nor do the respective philosophical analyses highlighted in this discussion provide any model of intersubjectivity. This study is cognisant that “intersubjectivity” is a complex, multilayered and inter-disciplinary concept (Crossley, 1996). Grant’s (2007: 90) following reflection on the diverse applications of intersubjectivity plainly points this out:

There are references to the term in the social psychology of George Herbert Mead (1934), developmental psychology (Stern 1985), psychoanalysis (Stolorow et al. 1987), and in nursing, psychotherapy, and palliative care In philosophy there is much current interpretation of the intersubjective dimensions in American pragmatism, particularly applied to the work of William James, Santayana, Cooley (Schutz 1953: 410), John Dewey (Garrison 1995) and Mead (Joas 1985), with repercussions into studies of pedagogy (Biesta 1995). The term is central in the social and language philosophy of Jurgen Habermas, who works from the basis of ‘linguistically established intersubjectivity’ (Habermas 1984: 396), and the apriority of intersubjectivity: “Individuality forms itself in relations of intersubjective acknowledgement and of intersubjectively mediated self-understanding (1994:152-153).

This study acknowledges that there are writers from the diverse fields of philosophy, sociology, psychology and politics who have significance in the debates on ‘intersubjectivity’. It does however limit its focus to those writers who have raised questions and posed problems which have become points of departure for writers in the

intersubjective assessment tradition. The mappings of the conceptual terrain of intersubjectivity that emerge from this analysis are used as lenses in the next chapter, to conduct the “Analysis of Practices”.

Within the spirit of genealogical philosophy, this study does not religiously conform to what the intersubjectivists have done. Doing so gives “*supremacy to these discourses*” by “*universalising their ideas*” and “*treating them as global principles*” (Foucault, 1991a: 85). Such an approach stands in contrast to the intentions of this genealogical inquiry.

HUSSERL’S “OTHER”

Husserl (1859-1938), brought the concept of “intersubjectivity” into the spotlight through his seminal work in phenomenology in the 1900s (Ricoeur, 1967: 3). His work (within which intersubjectivity was a recurrent theme) was committed towards the search for a new philosophical method that would lead to the recognition of truth (Welton, 2003: 7). He believed that, rather than being involved in metaphysics, philosophy should advance as an “*all-embracing science, grounded with absolute strictness, a science*” (Husserl, 1982: 72). In the extract quoted below from *Cartesian Meditations*, Husserl (1982: 52) elaborates this idea:

The world is a meaning, an accepted sense. When we go back to the ego we can explicate the founding and founded strata with which that sense is built up, we can reach the absolute being and process in which the being of the world shows its ultimate truth and in which the ultimate problems of being reveal themselves-bringing into the thematic field all the disguises that unphilosophical naiveté cannot penetrate.

It is apparent that Husserl saw the “scientific” enterprise as non-empirical in nature, giving consideration to real issues and problems rather than the ideas of other philosophers’ (Stokes, 2006: 150).

In Husserl's (1982: 3) phenomenological studies, he attempted to understand the properties of human consciousness through the concept of the transcendental ego. He saw the relationship between individuals and objects in the world as a "stream of consciousness" (Husserl, 1982: 64). He proposed the idea of intentionality- arguing that experience is not simply 'given' to individuals but is 'intentional' (Campbell, 1981: 199). His writing, such as that quoted below, reflects that he worked towards understanding the ways in which intentionality was manifested:

Intentional analysis is guided by the fundamental cognition that , as consciousness, every cogito is indeed (in the broadest sense) a meaning of its meant [Meinung seines Gemeinten], but that, at any moment, this something meant [dieses Vermeint] is more – something meant with something more – than what is meant at that moment explicitly (Husserl, 1982: 46).

The key idea conveyed in Husserl's (1982) phenomenology, is 'intentionality' or consciousness as providing meaning to objects.

Early in the 20th century, Husserl shaped his method into what he referred to as "transcendental phenomenology" (Welton, 2003: 135). These ideas are reflected in his work in the 5th of the *Cartesian Meditations* and in the scripts published in vol. XIII-XV of *Husserliana*. In his second major work, *Ideas* (Volume I, II and III), he explains that the "natural attitude" which we understand as the individual's standpoint (transcendental ego) is the major obstacle to the scientific discovery of phenomenological processes. As he writes in Volume I of this text:

...we begin our considerations as human beings who are living naturally, objectivating, judging, feeling, willing, 'in the natural attitude' (Husserl, 1983:51).

He writes further on the natural attitude:

The whole prediscovered world posited in the "natural attitude" actually found in experience and taken with perfect "freedom from theories" as it is actually experienced, as it clearly shows itself in the concatenations of experience, is now without validity for us; without being tested and also without being contested, it shall be parenthesised (Husserl, 1983: 62).

His criticism of the natural sciences is clearly suggested in the above quotations. He explains that the natural sciences necessitate the “natural attitude” or the conscious ordering by individuals in their daily experiences (Husserl, 1983: 57). He therefore encouraged the phenomenologist to “disconnect” the natural attitude in order to get at the most basic aspects of consciousness that are used to order the world.

Husserl (1982) advocated the phenomenology of the *life-world* as a new type of science. He found this accessible through “transcendental epoche” (Husserl, 1982: 26). He promoted the act of putting the world into “brackets” or the performing of “phenomenological reduction” (Husserl, 1982: 32). By this concept, he suggested the idea of bracketing, suspending, or perhaps refusal of the reality and the world of the everyday, to reveal its hidden structures. He elaborates this idea below:

It is necessary to survey this world and pay attention to how something alien makes its appearance as jointly determining the sense of the world, and so far it does so, to exclude it abstractively (Husserl, 1982: 95).

Husserl’s (1982) idea is that by ‘bracketing’ the natural attitude, phenomenologists would be able to study the consciousness of people.

Husserl’s (1982) philosophy advocated an attitude of active thinking, reflection and questioning. In this sense it suggests an overturning of previous philosophical sources of knowledge. It is against the backdrop of these ideas that Husserl’s notion of intersubjectivity is positioned. He writes the following about intersubjectivity:

In any case then, within myself, within the limits of my transcendently reduced pure conscious life, I experience the world (including others) and, according to its experiential sense, not as (so to speak) my private synthetic formation but as other than mine alone [mir fremde], as an intersubjective world, actually there for everyone, accessible in respect of its Objects to everyone. And yet each has his experiences, his appearances and appearance-unities, his world-phenomenon; whereas the experienced world exists in itself, over against all experiencing subjects and their world-phenomena (Husserl, 1982: 91).

...the transcendental intersubjectivity has an intersubjective sphere of oneness, in which it constitutes the Objective world; and thus, as the transcendental "We", it is a subjectivity for this world and also for the world of men, which is the form in which it has made itself Objectively actual (Husserl, 1982: 107).

One gets the sense that Husserl (1982) used the term "intersubjectivity" to describe the relational quality of experience that he believed, forms the basis of knowledge about the world.

Husserl's (1973) concept of intersubjectivity, as cited in Moran (2004: 188), revolves around the transcendence of the "other":

...my perceptual experience is an experience of intersubjectively accessible being; that is being which does not exist for me alone but for everybody. I experience objects events and actions, as public, not as private.

He suggests that our experience of objective truth is mediated and made possible by our encounters with a transcendent "other"- hence transcendence. Believing that the objectivity of the world is constituted intersubjectively, he introduced the concept of "transcendental intersubjectivity" as the source of all real truth and being. He is cited expressing this in Welton (2003: 360):

Transcendental intersubjectivity is the absolute ground of being (Seinsboden) from which the meaning and validity of everything objectively existing originate.

Husserl (1982:130) believed that transcendental intersubjectivity is constituted within the self by virtue of ones intentionality:

It is constituted thus as a community constituted also in every other monad (who, in turn, is constituted with the modification: "other".

From what we interpret of Husserl's (1982) ideas, both the individual and the *other* are considered as subjects in an intersubjective relationship. His theory of intersubjectivity suggests that our perceptions and experiences are embodied by a sense of *otherness*. His key point is that we are able to move beyond our own lives and experience our world as others do.

Husserl's (1982: 92) "*transcendental theory of experiencing someone else*" has been critiqued especially by Schütz (1962, 1964). Some of the key ideas within this debate are discussed below.

SCHUTZ'S "WE"

Schutz (1962) agreed with the basis of Husserl's phenomenological ideas, but opposed his views on intersubjectivity. Cited below, is Schutz's (1962:101) view of phenomenology as rigorous science:

...these introductory remarks may help to remove a widespread misunderstanding of the nature of phenomenology- the belief that phenomenology is anti-scientific, not based upon analysis and description, but originating in a kind of uncontrollable intuition or metaphysical revelation.

In accordance with Husserl, Schutz (1962) also reflects his view of science as a theoretical and conceptual endeavour. Schutz's (1967: 37) work, cited in Grinnel (1983: 187), reflects that he was further in agreement with Husserl's (1982) idea of "bracketing" the world in an effort to understand the life of consciousness. Schutz therefore agreed with the basic principle of Husserlian phenomenology - that there should be an ongoing search for scientific thought and method as well as concern for the origins of awareness.

What Schutz apparently disagreed with, was Husserl's philosophical conception of intersubjectivity. According to Husserlian scholars such as Hamazu (2004: 8), who is quoted below, the essence of the disagreement between Husserl and Schutz, revolved around the issue of the life-world:

While Husserl intended to clarify the problem of intersubjectivity in the transcendental phenomenology, Schutz found his task in clarifying the problem in the constitutive phenomenology of natural attitude or in the ontology of life-world.

It would appear that Schutz (1970:38) found unsatisfactory that part of Husserl's analysis which dealt with "*sociality and social groups*". Schutz apparently challenged Husserl's

assumption that isolated meaning can be held in the world. He raised questions about the relationship between things, seeing the “*world of everyday life*” as a system in which meanings were shared through individuals’ collective actions (Schutz, 1962: 208). Schutz’s (1967) writing below, which is cited in Grinnel (1983: 187), suggests that he saw meaning as conveyed through a field of experiences where there was a connection between conscious thought, objects, things and qualities in the world:

From my point of view as observed, your body is presented to me as a field of expression on which I can watch the flow of your lived experiences... (These expressive movements) enter into a meaning context, but only for the observer, for whom it is an indication of the lived experiences of the person he is observing. The latter is barred from giving meaning to his own expressive movements as they occur, due to the fact that they are inaccessible to his attention, or prephenomenal.

Thus, for Schutz, the practices of the social world were found in human conscious life, and these experiences could be examined and interpreted.

In advancing his phenomenological work, Schutz explored the nature of social relationships between individuals, and suggested a new point for intersubjectivity through the concept of the “Pure We-relationship” (Campbell, 1981: 207). In Schutz’s (1970: 82) words:

As long as man is born of woman, intersubjectivity and the ‘we-relationship’ will be the foundation for all other categories of human existence.

Schutz depicted the intersubjective relationship as one in which partners are aware of each other and participate in each other’s lives for a particular period of time (Grinnell, 1983: 4). The heart of Schutz’s (1962: 123) critique is that intersubjectivity “*does not exist at the transcendental sphere*”, but as a “*fundamental datum of the life world.*” His point is that our lives are characterized by a multitude of realities, including the worlds of dreams, art, religion, and the insane. The dominant reality however, is the intersubjective world of everyday life (the life-world) because it is the model of our experience of reality (Schutz, 1962: xiii).

In Schutz's (1962) characterisation of the notion of intersubjectivity, he rejects the notion of the intersubjective world as a private world; portraying it as a common one. His work quoted below, suggests his argument for a common world on account of the connection people have to each other:

...because we live in it as men among other men, bound to them through common influence and work, understanding others and being understood by them (Schutz, 1962: 10).

Schutz (1962: 16) also felt that intersubjectivity exists in a "vivid present in which we speak and listen to each other". His idea, as presented below, is of our sharing the same time and space as others:

...this simultaneity is the essence of intersubjectivity, for it means that I grasp the subjectivity of the alter ego at the same time as I live in my own stream of consciousness.... And this grasp in simultaneity of the other as well as his reciprocal grasp of me makes possible our being in the world together (Schutz, 1962: xxxii-xxxii).

It is the above quote which goes to the heart of Schutz's thinking on intersubjectivity: he was not interested in the physical interaction of people but in the way they grasped each other's consciousness and the manner in which they related to one another intersubjectively. Thus, while Husserl identified *consciousness* (the transcendental ego) as his primary focus, Schutz turned phenomenology outward to a concern for the intersubjective social world.

MERLEAU-PONTY'S "INTER-CORPOREAL"

Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961) also rejected Husserl's concepts of 'consciousness' and 'transcendental ego'. His early work reflects his disapproval of the philosophy of consciousness and suggestions for improvement (Carman & Hansen, 2005). His later work reflects his radicalisation and deepening of Husserl's ideas while maintaining some of its language (Crossley, 1993). Merleau-Ponty's (1962) view, as cited in Crossley (1993: 14), suggests his reluctance to distinguish between mind and body:

We must reject the prejudice which makes 'inner realities' out of love, hate or anger, leaving them accessible to one single witness: the person who feels them. Anger, shame, hate and love are not psychic facts hidden at the bottom of another's consciousness: they are types of behaviour or styles of conduct which are visible from the outside. They exist on this face or in those gestures, not hidden behind them. Psychology did not begin to develop until the day it gave up the distinction between mind and body.

Merleau-Ponty (1962) rejected the view that behaviour is an outer reflection of an inner state, maintaining that it is what we are, it is our subjectivity. One gets the sense that he attempted to go beyond the idea of "I" and "You". Rather than considering these as alternatives, his writing below, as cited in Crossley (1993: 29), suggests that he saw them as two aspects of the same phenomena:

Our perspectives merge into each other, and we exist through a common world. In the present dialogue, I am freed from myself, for the other persons thoughts are certainly his: they are not of my making, though I do grasp them the moment they come into being, or even anticipate them (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 254).

The apparent emphasis, in Merleau-Ponty's (1962) work, is the experience shared between people (Crossley, 1993). This idea is particularly apparent in his ideas on intersubjectivity: Merleau-Ponty based his notion of the intersubjective relationship in the body ("I") that is in contact with the world and with other bodies ("You") (Crossley, 1996: 29). He saw this as a carnal bond, referring to the "I" and "You" relationship as "inter-corporeal" and "carnal intersubjectivity" (Merleau-Ponty 1964, cited in Crossley 1993: 411). He claims that it is through this carnal bond, that access is afforded to the other.

The following view expressed by Merleau-Ponty (1993), in the work of Crossley (1993: 411), indicates his understanding of intersubjectivity as underpinned by "perception":

By these words, the 'primacy of perception' we mean that the experience of perception is our presence at the moment when things, truths, values are constituted for us, that perception is a nascent logos; that it teaches us outside

all dogmatism the true conditions of objectivity itself; that it summons us to the task of knowledge and action.

He emphasised the idea of one's gaining access to the other by way of "seeing" the other's meaningful behaviour (Crossley: 1993: 411). His perspective of "seeing" is cited as follows by Crossley (1993: 411):

...Each of us is, in relation to the other, a visible-seer, audible-listener, tangible-toucher (Merleau-Ponty, 1964).

Merleau-Ponty's views on intersubjectivity suggest that "seeing" is an openness through which we become joined to an *inter-world*.

Merleau-Ponty's (2002) writings indicate that he developed his notion of intersubjectivity through *language*: The following quotation, drawn from Merleau-Ponty's (2002: 214) recent work, strongly suggests this:

...language and the understanding of language apparently raise no problems. The linguistic and intersubjective world no longer surprises us, we no longer distinguish it from the world itself and it is within a world already spoken and speaking that we think.

One gets the sense, from Crossley's (1993: 413) various references to Merleau-Ponty's work (1962: 254), that he perceived of language as the means which brought forth thoughts from the listener:

Our perspectives merge into each other, and we exist through a common world. In the present dialogue, I am freed from myself, for the other persons thoughts are certainly his: they are not of my making, though I do grasp them the moment they come into being, or even anticipate them. And indeed, the objection which my interlocutor raises to what I say draws from me thought which I had no idea I possessed, so that at the same time that I lend him thoughts, he reciprocates by making me think too. It is only retrospectively, when I have withdrawn from the dialogue and am recalling it that I am able to reintegrate it into my life and make of it an episode in my private history...

The above quotation conveys Merleau-Ponty's (1962) perception of how dialogue works to create an intersubjective bond. This is in turn suggestive of the existence of an inter-

world which, according to Merleau-Ponty (1962), is constituted by the linguistic rules and resources shared by a community. This view is cited as follows by Carmen and Henson (2005: 74):

Just as the perceived world endures only through the reflections, shadows, levels, and horizons between things....so the works and thought of a philosopher are also made of certain articulations between things said.

Merleau-Ponty's (1962) philosophy conveys the distinct impression that it is through language that thought is achieved (Crossley, 1993).

Merleau-Ponty's (1964, 1969, 1971, and 1973) writings on intersubjectivity indicate an emphasis on the experience that is shared between people. He argues that intersubjective coexistence can be both conflicting and alienating and that harmonious social relations may not always be the case. He speaks in this regard about the effect of "the look" or "the gaze" (Merleau-Ponty, 1968: 137, cited in Crossley, 1993). He argues that the "moral" structure of inter-human relations is communicative and in this way involves mutual recognition between subjects. For Merleau-Ponty (1968), the effect of "the look" is achieved when there is an absence of mutual recognition and individuals become objectified by others' gazes. Merleau-Ponty (1962:361) is cited in Crossley (1993) saying:

...our actions and expressions are "not taken up and understood, but observed as if they were an insect's.

He focuses on the manner in which subjects are objectified through practices of capitalism and other forms of political domination. It is this point which is of key concern in this study.

It is apparent that although both Husserl and Merleau-Ponty were phenomenologists, what distinguished them was their understanding of experience: while Husserl depicted the features of the object as "sensibly absent", Merleau-Ponty, as cited in Carmen and Henson (2005: 79), argues for their "*positive presence on our experience*". Merleau-Ponty's (1993: 8) understanding of phenomena has much to do with "*the worldly standpoint of bodily incarnation and intersubjective, historical situation*". Although he

based his ideas on Husserl's point that we perceive objects as transcending, he moved beyond them by characterising our experiences of objects.

BUBER'S "SPHERE OF BETWEEN"

Martin Buber (1878-1965) also challenged the "complete" character of knowledge projected by the earlier philosophers. His ideas in *Between Man and Man* (1947) are cited in Friedman (1955: 3) as follows:

I have occasionally described my standpoint to my friends as the 'narrow ridge'I wanted by this to express that I did not rest on the broad upland of a system that includes a series of sure statements about the absolute, but on the narrow rocky ridge between the gulfs where there is no sureness of expressible knowledge but the certainty of meeting what remains, undisclosed.

The central principle underpinning Buber's (1958: iv) philosophy is his division of the human world into two basic spheres, *I- Thou* and *I-It*. He sees these spheres as corresponding to two basic human attitudes that represent man's engagement with the world: *relation* and *experience* (Buber, 1958: 3). As he writes:

The world of experience belongs to the basic word I-It. The basic word of I-Thou establishes the world of the relation (Buber, 1958: 6).

This conceptualisation is in keeping with his "twofold" view of the world suggested below:

The world is not comprehensible, but it is embraceable: through the embracing of one of its beings. Each thing and being has a twofold nature: the passive, absorbable, usable, dissectible, comparable, combinable, rationalizable, and the other, the active, non-absorbable, unusable, undissectible, incomparable, noncombinable, nonrationalizable (Buber, 1957: 27).

He conveys the view that understanding revolves around two ideas:

...the basic word pair I-Thou can only be spoken with the whole being. The basic word pair I-It can never be spoken with one's whole being (Buber, 1958: 3).

Buber depicted understanding as that which had to do with the factors of *experience* and *encounter*.

Buber (1958: 3) spoke of one's "encountering" a relation, when one spoke with "*one's whole being*". On the other hand, "*to speak with less than one's whole being*", suggested one's being left, at the level of experience. Buber believed that a person *experiences* something when he/she sees it as a one member in a species- hence the word pair, *I-It*. He depicted this as our gathering of objective knowledge through our senses, and our organization of this knowledge through reason. The quotation provided below from Buber's (1958: 11) work, suggests that when we engage in the world as objective observers rather than as participants, it is indicative of the *I-It* mode:

Concentration and fusion into the whole being can never take place through my agency, not can it ever take place without me. I become through my relation to the Thou; and as I become the I, I say Thou. All real living is meeting.

His point is that as long as the self remains removed and detached from the relationship, in other words, devoid of reciprocity, it is characteristic of *I-It*. He states further: *For it is in-him and not between-him and the world that the experience arises*" (Buber, 1958: 5). Thus, for Buber, experience is internal if one does not engage *in* the world.

On the other hand, Buber (1958: 6) saw *relation*, as external. He argues that relation takes place in the world between an "*I*" and a "*Thou*". He felt that in order to enter into a relation, one must allow one's self to encounter a *Thou*. He illustrates this idea through the example of a tree. He believed that although one may ponder over all of the physical characteristics of a tree, this may still be experience, if one's contemplation of the tree is removed and objective. What turns the experience into encounter (*Thou*) is if one enters into a relation, with the tree. In this case, the self (*I*) *encounters* the tree and is captivated by its uniqueness. In a sense, one allows the entire being to open up to the tree.

In Buber's (1958: 7) words: "*I am drawn into a relation, and the tree ceases to be an It.*" Buber believed that when the *I* recognized the tree as a *Thou*, a kind of reciprocal relationship is created with the tree. The idea of reciprocity is conveyed in the way the

entire self turns to the tree and recognizes the uniqueness that the tree presents in return. This is in opposition to the idea of removing the self from the relation to the tree and merely experiencing the objective facts about it. Thus, in Buber's perspective, any *It* can become a *Thou* when it is experienced as a partner in relation, rather than an object of experience. As he argues below, the experience of *encountering*, both elements transform the relations between the *I* and the *Thou*:

It can, however, also come about, if I have both will and grace, that in considering the tree I become bound up in relation to it. The tree is no longer It. I have been seized by the power of exclusiveness (Buber, 1958: 7).

Buber's writings convey the sense that one may "experience" with only part of one's self, but one "encounters" with one's whole being.

Buber positions his notion of intersubjectivity within the concepts of *I-Thou*, and *dialogue* (Crossley, 1996). In identifying "*I-It*" and "*I-Thou*" relations, he argues that both relations are necessary to human subjectivity and to practical social life. He thus sees intersubjectivity as a network of relationships based on a continuous process of dialogue. This dialogue or intersubjectivity then forms the basis of human interrelationships. Buber's idea is further conveyed in the work of Hodes (1971: 59) who writes as follows:

When a human being turns to another as another, as a particular and specific person to be addressed, and tries to communicate with him through language or silence, something takes place between them which is not found elsewhere in nature. Buber called this meeting between men the sphere of the between.

Buber suggests that human growth and development occur only when people live in relation to others. It is therefore apparent that Buber focused his philosophy of intersubjectivity on the "space" between persons.

Buber's (1958) work raises a vital concern about modern society and the "space" between people. He argued that that science and philosophy use experience as the mode through which things become known intellectually. In view of this, Western culture projects the *I-It* as the only mode accessible to human beings to engage with the world. In this practice,

the *I-Thou* mode, which is vital to the existence of human beings, is ignored. Buber (1958: 47) asks the following question:

But is the communal life of modern man not then of necessity sunk in the world of it?

Buber's question is directed at the idea that the Modern world distances the individual from the actual "encounter" and forces Men to live mainly in the realm of I-It and experience. His view, as reflected in the quotation below, is that this condition of modern society increases the solitude of the individual and inhibits his or her opportunity to relate to others:

Man's will to profit and to be powerful have their natural and proper effect as long as they are linked with, and upheld by, his will to enter into a relation
(Buber, 1958: 48).

Buber conveys the dilemma of modern humanity as that of overcoming the objective, experience-based society and entering into relations with others.

Buber highlights the availability of the mode of *encounter* and encourages us to be open to it. The quotation below reflects his acknowledgement that we cannot survive without the mode of experience, because we use it to order our worlds – hence for survival. As Buber (1947: 243) writes:

On the far side of the subjective, on this side of the objective, on the narrow ridge where I and Thou meet, there is the realm of 'between'. This reality, whose disclosure has begun in our time, shows the way, leading beyond individualism and collectivism and collectivism, for the life of future generations. Here the genuine third alternative is indicated, the knowledge of which will help to bring about the genuine person again and to establish genuine community.

Evidently, Buber encourages us not to discard the mode of experience. His ideas convey his intentions of trying to create a dialogical community.

Buber's (1947) ideas above raise the point of the importance of "genuine community" where both *I-It* and *I-Thou* relations are necessary to human life. He draws attention to asymmetry in relationships which can manifest in a range of different types of

relationships, both personal and public. As is indicated below, he uses the concept of the “Centre” and “builders” to highlight this:

Living mutual relation includes feelings, but does not originate with them. The community is built up out of living mutual relation, but the builder is the living effective Centre (Buber, 1957: 40).

Buber believed that if the “centre” means a single person, the over-reliance on one person’s view could threaten democratic activity. He showed concern that *I-it* relations are beginning to predominate in modern societies which could lead to deterioration in the quality of human relations. The insights Buber (1957) has shared with us, conveys the idea of intersubjectivity as a potential site of power.

HABERMAS’ “PUBLIC SPHERE”

Habermas (1984, 1987 and 1998), who wrote within the social tradition, also rejected the positivist notion that human knowledge can only be arrived at through objective inquiry. He is cited in Outhwaite (1996: 3) saying that:

...behaviour-controlling traditions no longer naively define the self-understanding of modern societies...today, the self understanding of social groups and their world-view as articulated in ordinary language is mediated by the hermeneutic appropriation of traditions as traditions.

Like the philosophers discussed earlier, Habermas did not believe in human knowledge being acquired through the individual psyche, but *intersubjectively* or through the interaction of several subjectivities. He depicts this as communicative action which takes place in a “*lifeworld*.” (Habermas, 1998b: 298, cited in Garland, 2008: 3). Habermas (1984: 70) offers the following description of the *lifeworld* concept:

Subjects acting communicatively always come to an understanding in the horizon of a lifeworld. Their lifeworld is formed from more or less diffuse, always unproblematic, background convictions. This lifeworld background serves as a source of situation definitions that are presupposed by participants as unproblematic. In their interpretive accomplishments the members of a

communication community demarcate the one objective world and their intersubjectively shared social world from the subjective worlds of individuals and (other) collectives.

His description points to universal processes of rationality by which individuals' arrive at what is true and right. He sees this rationality as the potential source of resistance to colonisation of lifeworld by power and money (Habermas, 1984). He encourages us to obtain a distance from our everyday 'natural attitude'. He is cited in Garland (2008: 310), perceiving of this as vital to one's freedom:

...a person's ability to distance himself in this way in these various dimensions from himself and his expressions is a necessary condition of his freedom.

Habermas (1984) conveys the sense that one can gain some degree of control of the lifeworld, through intersubjectively constructed understandings and agreements.

Habermas' (1984) ideas on intersubjectivity embody the theory of "*Communicative action*". He is cited in Bolton (2005: .8e) arguing that:

[Actors in society] seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement. The central concept of interpretation refers in the first instance to negotiating definitions of the situation which admit of consensus ...

Habermas' (1984) concept of *Communicative action* conveys the emphasis of individuals' reaching a common understanding. He is cited in Outhwaite (1996: 161) saying that:

Reaching understanding [Verständigung] is considered to be a process of reaching agreement [Einigung] among speaking and acting subjects.

His writing suggests that the outcome of interaction depends on whether the participants actually come to an agreement among themselves. His point is that we are able to agree on what should be done through reflection and rational discourse. It is from such agreements that we are consequently able to act upon the world (Habermas, 1984).

In further writings, Habermas' (1984) depicts human society as a web of *intersubjectivity*, created through the actions and interactions of autonomous, responsible individuals. One

of these ideas about the intersubjective “web” is cited by D’Entreves & Benhabib (1997: 22) as follows:

Remaining squarely within the circle of language he maintains that, as we only encounter unconscious drives qua interpreted, that is, from within the web of intersubjectivity, it is meaningless to talk of preinterpreted inner nature.

Habermas (1984) suggests that the intersubjective web should be entered through socialization, especially language acquisition. His view on this is cited in Garland (2005: 9) as follows:

The actors seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement. The central concept of interpretation refers in the first instance to negotiating definitions of the situation which admit of consensus. ... Language is given a prominent place in this model (Habermas, 1984: 86).

Habermas (1984) conveys the idea that language is one of the keys to shared understanding. He reflects the idea of individuals establishing relationships and seeking understanding in society through language.

Habermas’ (1998) work reflects the belief that the success of communicative action depends on the hearer’s response to the “truths” raised by the speaker. His work quoted below suggests that he identifies three “universal” types of truths:

a claim to the truth of what is said or presupposed, a claim to the normative rightness of the speech act in the given context or of the underlying norm, and a claim to the truthfulness of the speaker (Habermas, 1998: 3).

By showing that everyday interaction depends on “truth” claims, Habermas (1998:4) conveys the idea of social order as:

...a network of relationships of mutual recognition that have two significant characteristics: cooperation and rationality...

Habermas’ (1998: 5) picture of everyday communicative action situates truth and justice as part of everyday human activity.

A REVIEW OF THE LAYERS OF “INTERSUBJECTIVITY”

An intricate set of “layers” has been unearthed by the philosophical journey into the notion of intersubjectivity. From Husserl (1982) we get the idea of two elements, *self* and *other*, which are intersubjectively involved in meaning-making in the world. His explanation of intersubjectivity brings to the fore the view that there is a sense of *otherness* embodied in our perceptions and experiences. We also get the impression from the critiques offered by several scholars (e.g. Schutz, 1962, 1964) that this view is limited by its suggestion that all meaning is formed individually. One gets the sense that Husserl’s theory excludes the possibility that meanings might be shared or communicated by subjects in an inter-world or community.

From Schutz (1962, 1964 and 1970), who first contested Husserl’s notion of intersubjectivity, we get the idea that meaning is not only formed individually but also shared or communicated by subjects in a community. Schutz’s point is that *otherness* should not be reduced (as he claims Husserl does) to being always only what an individual’s *self* has of it (Crossley, 1996). We get the impression, via Schutz’s critique, that the notion of intersubjectivity should include a consideration of speech and language. Schutz’s argument is that speech and language are more directly related to intersubjectivity than perception and imagination. Schutz advances the idea that by entering into dialogue, subjects transcend their individualities and become components in a larger whole. Through Schutz’s theory of intersubjectivity, this study is alerted to how the aspects of time and space may be implicated within social relationships.

Buber’s (1878-1965) ideas on intersubjectivity also take us beyond the subject-centred theory of existence of Husserl. He directs us towards a theory of the “between” (Levinas, 1989 & Theunissen, 1984, cited in Crossley, 1996: 12). Buber does not reduce the meaning and thoughts entailed in this space to either participant’s individual consciousnesses of it. Rather, he regards the space between participants as an “irreducible and ancient primordial structure” (Crossley, 1996: 12). Buber calls the space formed between individuals the *inter-world*, because one’s meanings and thoughts are dialogically interwoven with those of the other. Within this inter-world, participants are

de-centred in relation to the joint situation through language and speech (Crossley, 1996:12). Buber thus advances on the Husserlian structure of intersubjectivity by his recognition that self and other are always in relational terms – and therefore should be accounted for as elements of the same structure (Crossley, 1996).

A comparison of Schutz's analysis of the *We-relationship* with Buber's description of his personal experience of intersubjectivity, i.e., the *I-Thou* relationship, reveals a strong convergence (Crossley, 1996). Both Schutz and Buber propose notions of intersubjectivity where the self is linked with the other in terms of their sharing of the experience. Schutz and Buber show further similarities between the *We* and *I-Thou* relationships: their respective clarifications depict that meaningful social relationships may only happen if there is the acknowledgement of the other. They also express the similar idea that there must be reciprocation between persons (Buber, 1965; Schutz, 1965, cited in Crossley, 1996). As an advance on the Husserlian perspective, Buber and Schutz recognise that *self* and *other* are elements within the same structure (Crossley, 1996). In cognisance of these ideas, the relational structure of self and other is perceived in this study as the theoretical foundation of the notion of intersubjectivity. Thus, in the analysis of practices in intersubjective assessment at "C" High School (conducted in the following chapter); an exploration is conducted into the *self* and *other* as relational elements.

Through the insights of Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1968) and Habermas (1984, 1987), we are alerted to some of the intricacies and subtleties of the notion of intersubjectivity. Like Schutz and Buber (among others), Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1968) radicalises and deepens Husserl's idea that we perceive objects as transcending (Crossley 1996). Merleau-Ponty moves beyond Husserl in his discussion of intersubjectivity as an "inter-corporeal" relationship, where "seeing" is an openness which enjoins us to an *inter-world*. Like Schutz and Buber, he emphasises the role of dialogue in creating a strong intersubjective bond or an inter-world.

Merleau-Ponty's (1964, 1969, 1971 and 1973) further contribution is his exploration of social relations within the intersubjective relationship. He particularly looks at conflict

and alienation in his political writings (Crossley, 1996). His ideas in this sphere, relate to the manner in which subjects are objectified through the concrete social relations and practices which are constitutive of capitalism and other forms of economic-political domination. He alerts us to the political implications of the “the look” or “the gaze” in the intersubjective relationship. Habermas (1984, 1987 and 1998) conveys further nuances of the notion of intersubjectivity. His writings convey the sense that human society is a web of intersubjectivity, created through the actions and interactions of autonomous, responsible individuals. His conception of intersubjectivity, which embodies the theory of “*Communicative action*”, centralises the role of language. Habermas therefore alerts this study to the idea of actors in the educational context establishing relationships and seeking understanding through language.

In the analysis conducted of the philosophical ideas above, the concept of the *life-world* appears to permeate the various layers of the notion of intersubjectivity. This point is taken into cognisance in the analysis of intersubjective assessment practices. It is done by conceptualising the educational field in *life-world* terms: that is, by thinking of the actors in the educational context of “C” High School as displaying the potential to break out of the constraints of their current taken-for-granted understandings. It also analyses facets of the *life-world* which do not appear to be in the interests of the actors in it. The concept of *life-world* is thus used to highlight the particular contexts, practices, traditions and norms in the educational field that serve as background assumptions for the actors in this study.

SECTION B

‘INTERSUBJECTIVITY’ IN THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

This section looks at the application of the “intersubjective” philosophy, to the educational context. An exemplary framework is found in Matusov’s (2001) work within the field of developmental psychology and sociolinguistics. Matusov (2001: 384-393) identifies three definitions which highlight the key elements of the notion of “intersubjectivity” within the sphere of teaching and learning: “Intersubjectivity as having something in common”; “Intersubjectivity as coordination of participants’ contributions” and “Intersubjectivity as human agency”. Matusov’s (2001) structure is used as a platform to unearth constructs of intersubjectivity in assessment. Focus is given to these definitions in an attempt to draw out the principles of intersubjectivity that have been appropriated to the sphere of assessment.

MATUSOV’S THREE DEFINITIONS OF INTERSUBJECTIVITY

“Intersubjectivity as having something in common”

Matusov’s (2001:385) definition, “Intersubjectivity as having something in common”, provides a sense of the “shared space” between individuals in the teaching and learning context. His characterization within this definition draws out the *communal* nature of intersubjectivity as “developing a *common* (i.e. similar) sense in a joint socio-cultural activity” (Cole, 1991, cited in Matusov, 2001: 385). In the extract quoted below, Matusov (2001: 385) uses Dewey’s (1966) ideas to make known the shared meaning conveyed by the words “common, community, and communication”:

There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication. [People] live in a community in virtue of the things which they

have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common.

Matusov (2001) suggests that developing a *common* understanding between participants in a relationship, means giving consideration to those elements that are shared. These include attention, understanding, or communicational agreement (Matusov, 2001: 385). Since all of these aspects of communication involve dialogue and discussion, he concludes that the arrival at a common understanding of the truth, involves “*discursive interaction*”, the “*exchange of views*” and the “*negotiating and renegotiating meaning*” (Matusov, 2001: 385).

In fore-grounding the importance of discursive interaction, Matusov (2001) raises three principles that make up a shared focus of attention in the educational context: the shared object of the activity; shared communication; and authenticity of the activity for all the participants. He concedes that it may be difficult to share the “object” in activity as in the case of the teachers whose goals should be different from the learners. He agrees with Rommetveit’s (1989) idea that learners should show an interest in each other’s work. He also cites authors like Engestrom (1990), Leont’ev (1981) and Vygotsky (1978), who write about the need to engage learners holistically or authentically in their learning. In advancing this point, he emphasise the ineffectiveness of learning in de-contextualized environments (Duffy and Jonassen, 1992, in Matusov, 2001).

“Intersubjectivity as coordination”

In the definition “Intersubjectivity as coordination”, Matusov (2001:388) uses Fogel’s (1993) ideas to argue for the importance of the *coordination* of participants’ actions in intersubjectivity. He portrays intersubjectivity as involving an open-mindedness and mutual respect by participants. He also draws on Piaget’s (1972) model of socio-cognitive conflict to argue for the notion of *disagreement management*. In this definition, he conveys the importance of negotiating meaning in intersubjective relationships.

“Intersubjectivity as human agency: caring and practical action”

In his third definition, “*Intersubjectivity as human agency: caring and practical action*”, Matusov’s (2001: 396) uses Von Glasersfeld’s (1989) theories to advance the elements of self-directedness and responsible agency in learning. He conveys the idea of the learner as responsible for his/her own learning. He highlights the ideas of Newman et al. (1989) who argue that, to develop self-directed and responsible agency, learners need to move from the periphery of learning processes to their centre. He also uses Rogers & Freiberg’s (1994) theory to argue for learners’ involvement in making their own choices and decisions, as well as giving consideration to the consequences of their actions. He highlights a point about care in the intersubjective relationship through the work of Gordon et al. (1996) and Noddings (1995). He sees this as a process involving a sensitive approach by the teacher. In using Rogers & Freiberg’s (1994) theory, he makes it known that when care is not shared by participants, there is the possibility of *harmful care* – which could lead to unproductive relations between the teacher and learner.

Matusov’s (2001) proposed definitions have provided a perspective of how the philosophical ideas in intersubjectivity may be translated to the educational context. His ideas have been useful for this study in terms of “fleshing out” the three underpinning principles of the notion of intersubjectivity within the educational context. These are: *participation*, *community* and *human agency* (Matusov, 2001). The definitions of intersubjectivity, when seen together, reflect a conception of learning as a process of active knowledge construction, emphasizing context and interaction.

The journey conducted into Matusov’s (2001) work has contributed a perspective of the ideas and concepts that have led to coherence and continuity in “intersubjectivity” within the educational context. This journey of examining coherence and continuity is continued in the next section. There, a spotlight is placed on the notion of intersubjectivity as it applies to the context of assessment. In other words, focus is given to ideas that have given character and shape to the current notion of intersubjective assessment. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, knowledge of the constitution or “making” of the

notion of intersubjective assessment is vital to this study's genealogical quest, to "unmake" "truth" in intersubjective assessment.

SECTION C

A REVIEW OF PRINCIPLES IN INTERSUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT

The literature conveys the idea of the move to the intersubjective conception of assessment as “*part of a larger set of changes in curriculum and theories of teaching and learning*” (Shephard, 2000: 2). It comes across as having been shaped by a “diverse membership” of the scholarly community (Shephard, 2000: 2). The constructivist influence on assessment is particularly prominent: there are arguments (see Chapter One) that it has revolutionised the character of assessment (Shephard, 2000: 1). Gipps (1994) cites the work of writers such as Gibbs (1990), Linn (1991), Resnick (1989), Williams (1996) and others, who share the view that teacher assessments restricted learners’ taking responsibility for their own learning. The idea conveyed was that the behaviourist model of assessment could no longer be of use because it atomized knowledge (Gipps, 1994). To highlight this point, Gipps (1994: 22) cites Wilson (1992), who states that:

...the strength and frequency of calls for authenticity in assessment are evidence of the influence of such a view of learner learning.

The Constructivists’ counter-argument was that access to meta-cognitive processes comes from learners’ gaining awareness of their own learning strategies, in the light of educational objectives (Gipps, 1994). They felt that under their banner of learning, the complexity of understanding could be assessed rather than recognition or recall of facts (Gipps, 1994: 20). Under the constructivist banner therefore, intersubjective assessment projected learners as critical assessors (Sadler, 1983; Stiggins, 1997).

In the light of these proposals, energy was directed towards an assessment framework which allowed learners to monitor their learning, make adjustments and become independent thinkers (Gipps, 1994). As Shephard (2000: 43) writes below, the changing aims and objectives in assessment placed new demands, on the assessment community:

...a broader range of assessment tools is required to capture important learning goals and to more directly connect assessment to instruction.

It was apparent that the assessment community faced the complex task of developing a new set of skills (Harris and Bell 1994; Birenbaum & Dochy, 1996, cited in Shephard, 2000). As Shephard (2000: 43) informs us, the most obvious reform was the devising of open-ended performance tasks which helped to facilitate learners' critical reasoning, problem-solving strategies and application of knowledge in real life contexts. According to a literature review conducted by Black & Wiliam (1998), open discursive methods of *self-* and *peer-assessment* and were among the techniques proposed as alternatives for assessing learning (Broadfoot et al. 2001; Gergits and Schramer, 1994; Johnson, 1989; Topping, 1998; Broadfoot, 1996; Wittrock & Baker, 1991; Wolf et al. 1991; Lake and Tessner, 1997; Posner, 1995; Gredler, 1997; Gronlund, 1968 and de Lange, 1987).

In the light of this study's genealogical quest, focus is given below to the concept of "open-discourse" and the key techniques it proposes for intersubjective assessment.

THE CONCEPT OF "OPEN DISCOURSE"

Taylor et al. (1997), advance the concept of *open-discourse* – a theory in which they discuss the communicative relationships between learners and teachers. Their concept is underpinned by Habermas' (1972) principle that processes of *openness* can be empowering because they create an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect between people - factors which are highly conducive to the goal of shared understanding. As Taylor et al. (1997: 112) write:

Open discourse gives rise to opportunities for learners to (1) negotiate with the teacher about the nature of their learning activities (2) participate in the determination of assessment criteria and undertake self-assessment and peer-assessment (3) engage in collaborative and open-ended inquiry with fellow learners and (4) participate in reconstructing the social norms of the classroom.

In the above theorists' view, the notion of *open discourse* facilitates the understanding and respect of others. These authors conveyed the sense that opportunities for shared understanding or intersubjectivity, may be afforded by optimising the open nature of communal practices in the classroom.

Assessment theorists have used the rationale projected by Taylor et al. (1997), to advocate for *open discursive* methods in assessment (Mewborn et al. 2007). The idea projected was that, apart from helping to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect, *open discourse* could be additionally useful in exploring teacher and learner *life-worlds*. Mewborn et al. (2007) argued that, insight into each others' personal feelings, values and goals could provide a richer shared understanding. In line with this thinking, assessment tools which favoured the notion of open-discourse appear to have been advocated for assessing learning (Gipps, 1994). As Gipps (1994) informs us, these methods include the gathering of information via oral and practical performances; individual or group presentations; essay examinations; research projects, scientific experiments and the like.

Within the framework of *open-discourse*, Genishi (1997) speaks of the importance of classroom observation as a tool for the gathering of information by the teacher. As she points out, this is generally done through note-taking, anecdotal records, electronic equipment, checklists, and other similar means. Genishi particularly highlights the complexities inherent to the phenomena of “intersubjective” and “objective” observation. She contrasts the changing character of assessment (from objective to intersubjective processes) using an interesting scheme. In her depiction, the assessor in the objective view is portrayed as “a detached eye” who views the testing from an objective distance, “*outside of the universe of the person assessed*” (Genishi, 1997: 37). Her illustration draws attention to the contrasting way in which the intersubjective conception places the assessor's “eye” within the universe of the person assessed.

To advance her argument, Genishi cites Bruner's (1996: 20) view of the intersubjective relationship as:

A negotiation of meaning which takes place within a subcommunity of interaction...

Genishi suggests that within the intersubjective conception, the learners' lives are intertwined with the teacher's bringing to the fore an important concern: Unlike the

objective assessor, the teacher/assessor lives in the same universe (educational space), as the person observed and assessed. She likens this position to participant observation, a technique used by anthropologists and ethnographers to study a culture or settings within a culture. Her point is that, participant observers like classroom participants, cannot stand apart from the phenomena around them and determine patterns; they interpret what they see from their immersion or participation in the setting (Genishi, 1997: 40). She raises the concern that the intersubjective assessment scene is one characterised by “multiplicity” and “intricacies” because the teacher is embedded in the interactions that are bases for assessment (Genishi, 1997: 41, 46).

The literature reflects that this concern has also been raised by other writers. In fact, the literature suggests that it is in this area of intersubjective assessment, that criticism appears to be strongest (Gipps, 1994). The problem, as educators and researchers have discussed, is the impossibility of separating the observer (often the teacher) from what s/he observes -often learners and their behaviours (Guba and Lincoln, 1989, cited in Gipps, 1994). Gipps writes that within the practice of intersubjective assessment, observation is a subjective experience requiring teacher judgement - which contrasts sharply with the “value-free” objective observations of traditional assessments. Hargreaves (1989) highlights (from a Foucauldian perspective) some of political risks of the kind of observation that is characteristic of intersubjective assessment practice. He suggests that intersubjective assessments can embody panoptic principles of surveillance and monitoring. An additional point is that intersubjective assessment practices emphasise the building of a record through, for example, portfolios. Through such processes of documentation, individuals are made into documented cases: they are judged and compared as individuals who need to be disciplined. In support of Hargreaves (1989), Dwyer (1998) adds that the intersubjective processes of observation in assessment imply increased *visibility* of learners which opens up strong avenues for power and control.

The above points of concern are vital to this analysis. It is precisely within this area that this study’s work is concentrated. Through genealogical analysis, this study examines the effects of productive power within the realm of intersubjective assessment practice at “C”

High School. It works to unearth and highlight elements of intersubjective assessment practice which open up spaces for power and control. Its key concern is to investigate the forms of power, trace its pathways and explore the discourses involved.

SELF-ASSESSMENT

Self-assessment is projected in the literature as integral to the notion of intersubjectivity (e.g. Dann, 2008; Gardner, 2006; Lambert & Lines, 2000). Jean Piaget's (1972) idea, of learning as an *active* process of cognitive restructuring, appears to have particularly influenced the notion of *self-assessment* (Sadler, 1983; Stiggins, 1997). Piaget's (1971: 5) three perspectives of mind, which he saw as vital to describing biological, physical and social phenomena, are reproduced below:

The idea of wholeness, the idea of transformation, and the idea of self-regulation...

As conveyed by Roos & Hamilton (2004), the "*idea of wholeness*", suggests the idea of elements within a system, being held together. The "*idea of transformation*" conveys the idea of the system working to build new relationships. The "*idea of self-regulation*" suggests the act of dealing with the change which arises from the system. It is apparent that Piaget (1971) made associations between the notions of self-regulation and self-construction arguing for new forms of human intelligence as generated through processes of self-regulation (*assimilation*) and transformation (*accommodation*).

Gates (2001: 156) sees *assimilation* as the absorption of new ideas and *accommodation* as the modification of new ideas to fit into existing frameworks. He believes that Piaget (1971) advocated active discovery learning environments in schools on the assumption that such settings provided rich opportunities for assimilation and accommodation. In Piaget's (1972: 20) thinking:

...to understand is to discover, or reconstruct by re-discovery, and such conditions must be complied with if in the future individuals are to be formed who are capable of production and creativity and not simply repetition.

In the above quotation, Piaget does indeed reflect his view of active methods being favourable to learning. He also implies the importance of the autonomy of the child in the construction of knowledge.

In their proposals for new assessment formats, writers within the assessment tradition reflect a cognisance of Piaget's views on learning. Gipps (1994: 29) follows the Piagetian line of thought in suggesting that the tasks used for testing should offer the learner the opportunity to demonstrate active independence. Boud (1995), who writes especially on self-assessment, acknowledges Piaget's (1896-1960) ideas of "*wholeness*", "*transformation*", and "*self-regulation*". In the extract quoted below, Boud (1994: 31) explains the idea of learning as a holistic process:

Learning is normally experienced as a seamless whole; there is continuity between experiences even though they may be labelled as different. It is impossible to dissociate a learner from his or her context, from the processes in which they are involved or from their past experience. All of our experiences, past and present, are potentially relevant to any given learning task.

Boud's (1994) emphasis is that the meaning of the experience is created within the context of human relationships- in other words, the learner's relationship to the context is critical.

Following the Piagetian line of thought, Boud (1995: 27) portrays *self-assessment* as part of the educational drive to promoting "*learner autonomy and self-direction*". Boud's characterisation goes past the idea of assessment being concerned with the allocating marks. His concept of self-assessment suggests learners' individual engagement with questions which concern the quality of their work. He defines *self-assessment* as:

...the involvement of learners in identifying standards and/or criteria to apply to their work, and making judgements about the extent to which they have met these criteria and standards (Boud, 1995: 12).

Boud's (1992) writing suggests his support of the view that over time, learners could become skilled judges of their own strengths and weaknesses, empowering themselves in this process and thereby developing *human agency*.

Boud (1992) highlights three important factors that impact on self-assessment in a liberatory way: the learner's level of *motivation*, sense of *responsibility*, and feeling of *empowerment*. He explains that in terms of *motivation*, traditionally, learners have not been given the opportunity to assess their progress and did not need to rely entirely on the judgment of their teachers, but also had to accept it without question. As a result, there existed a belief that learners found assessment intimidating and de-motivating. Self-assessment, on the other hand, was believed to provide opportunities for learners to consider their skills and needs on their own, and in a non-confrontational way (Boud, 1992). As Boud explains, they can then think about the strengths and weaknesses of their class work without worrying what their instructor or other learners in the class think about their progress. As regards *responsibility*, traditionally, the sole responsibility for identifying learners' weaknesses and addressing these lay with the teacher. Learners were believed to play a passive role in this traditional and top-down process (Boud, 1992). In the case of self-assessment on the other hand, learners are considered as active participants in the learning process. Boud (1997) also highlights factors that impact on self-assessment in an oppressive way. He sees this happening, when assessment is designed to meet external demands, or where teachers retain all control and produce records about learners without their input.

The general idea Boud (1992, 1995 and 1997) conveys of self-assessment, is that the learners' individual sense of participation, leads to their becoming more involved and cooperative class participants. While this idea is supported by many of the writers within the assessment community, there are also voices which reflect a concern that it may serve as an avenue for power and control. It is these voices which this study takes seriously: it works towards an investigation of self-assessment practices at "C" High School and intends to reveal whether such possibilities actually *do* exist.

PEER-ASSESSMENT

Current assessment literature sustains the earlier view of *peer assessment* being integral to learning (e.g. Bloxham & West, 2004; Roberts, 2007; Popham, 2008). According to earlier assessment writers such as Gipps (1994: 27), the concept of *peer assessment* has foundations in the collaborative *system* advocated by Vygotsky -particularly his concept of the “zone of proximal development (ZPD)”. It would appear that assessment theorists have derived the value of *collaborative* assessment contexts from Vygotsky’s (1978) concept of learning occurring within a social milieu (Gipps, 1994). Vygotsky (1978: 90) characterises the ZPD as follows:

These individual examples illustrate a general developmental law for the higher mental functions that we feel can be applied in its entirety to children’s learning processes. We propose that an essential feature of learning is that it creates the zone of proximal development; that is, learning awakens a variety of developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in his environment and in collaboration with his peers.

Vygotsky’s writings above suggest that the ZPD develops within processes of social relations.

By drawing from Vygotsky’s (1978) ZPD argument, assessment writers have advocated *peer-assessment* - a technique which works towards learners internalizing external knowledge and converting this (through processes of collaboration) into tools for learning (Gipps, 1994). Within the Vygotskian framework, peer-assessment is portrayed as an interactive process during which learners make judgements on the quality of work produced by their peers, in the form of *feedback*. The peer-interaction is aimed at helping to improve each others’ performance. Topping (1998: 249) captures these characteristics in his definition of peer-assessment as:

An arrangement in which individuals consider the amount, level, value, worth, quality, or successfulness of the products or outcomes of learning of others of similar status.

It is argued that peer-assessment offers educational benefits in the form of the development of team and leadership, communication, organisational and judgement skills (Rust, 2001).

Topping (1998) maintains that the new *peer assessment* methods provide immense opportunities for the *devolving of power* from the teacher to the learners. He explains that traditionally, only the 'product' of learning was assessed by the teacher, and the 'process' that led to the learner producing the product, was not directly assessed because of the visibility factor. However, in the case of *peer assessment*, a range of relevant skills that are employed in producing the group product may be visible to peers. This is due to their close interaction and policy of openness. Such skills include the ability to work with others, self management and organizational skills, research skills, communication and intellectual skills. Topping (1998) concludes that in the case of peers assessing the performance of individual group members, a strong case is presented for the movement of some of the power from the teacher into the hands of learners.

Feedback is highlighted in the assessment literature (for example, Gipps, 1999), as vital to learning. It is described as a process whereby teachers and learners engage in dialogue to appraise, judge, or evaluate other learners' work. They then use this insight to shape and improve their competence (Gipps, 1999). Gipps (1999) argues that these ideas have resonances in Vygotsky's (1978) ZPD theory, which emphasises the adult's role, in progressively assisting the child to reach the goal of autonomy. Gipps also writes that it is *feedback* in this case, which constitutes the teachers' provision of cognitive thinking, necessary for completion of the task. As the child becomes more familiar with the situation, the teacher's role in providing feedback becomes lessened. Thus, through the concept of feedback, the 'apprenticeship' Vygotsky (1970, 1971) speaks about between teacher and learner, is established (Gipps, 1999).

The process of *feedback*, when carried out effectively, is argued to promise educational benefits such as that of challenging ideas, introduce new information, providing alternatives and encouraging self-reflection (Ramaprasad, 1983). Turnstall and Gipps

(1996) explain that feedback can be deeply empowering for learners in the sense that the teacher shares power and responsibility with the learner, by conveying a sense of work in progress. The teachers' effective use of feedback is seen to shift the emphasis to the child's own role in learning. In other words, it passes control to the child. At the same time, Gipps (1994) raises serious concerns regarding feedback and power. She argues that while feedback may allow opportunities for teachers, learners, and parents to identify the extent to which learning has occurred, and to shape their actions for the next stage of learning, this has to be exercised with much caution (Gipps, 1994). She argues that the type of feedback used, has critical implications for learner *empowerment*.

In studies with Turnstall (1996), Gipps categorized assessment feedback according to whether it was evaluative (judgmental) or descriptive and positive or negative. Gipps alerts us to the kind of feedback where teachers' retain control and power- telling learners whether or not their work was satisfactory. She argues that this type of feedback implies that the teacher exerts control *over* the child, rather than sharing power *with* the learner. The idea is conveyed that while the feedback systems suggested by intersubjective assessment may be empowering, they also have the potential to serve as sources of control. This is another important point for this analysis which endeavours to highlight sources of power and control in intersubjective assessment practices at "C" High School.

From the range of ideas presented above, there are many important questions and issues in intersubjective assessment which, it would seem, are deeply implicated in the issue of power. From these insights, a key question is projected for this study: does the intersubjective assessment perspective take power in all its forms seriously? The following review on actual assessment practices looks at this question in terms of actual practices in intersubjective assessment in South Africa, and internationally.

SECTION D

A REVIEW OF INTERSUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT IN PRACTICE

Broadfoot & Black (2004) have conducted extensive reviews on assessment practice which may be accessed from the journal, *Assessment in Education* (2004). Some of the studies documented include: Barnes (1985), Gullickson (1985), and Schmidt and Brosnan (1996) in the US, Nicholson and Anderson (1993) in Canadian primary schools (K-4), Stiggins and Bridgeford (1985) in districts across the United States, Koretz (1998) in three different studies in the USA, Johnson, Wallace, and Thompson (1999) with math teachers in the USA, Pryor and Akwesi (1998) in the U.K. and Ghana, Rea-Dickens (2001) in the UK and Mavrommatis (1997) in Greece. These studies generally reported pictures of ambiguity and tension in intersubjective assessment practice. They report on teachers' believing that intersubjective assessment practices were important, feeling negative about some aspects and needing much help making changes.

Brookhart (2006) has conducted an extensive literature review which reported teachers doing some intersubjective work, but in general, emphasising the traditional (grading) functions of classroom assessment. Grades were seen as an important reason for assessment across the following studies: Barnes (1985), Gullickson (1985), and Schmidt and Brosnan (1996) in the US, Nicholson and Anderson (1993) in Canadian primary schools (K-4), Stiggins and Bridgeford (1985) in districts across the United States, Koretz (1998) in three different initiatives in the USA, Johnson, Wallace, and Thompson (1999) with math teachers in the USA, Pryor and Akwesi (1998) in the U.K. and Ghana, Rea-Dickens (2001) in the UK and Mavrommatis (1997) in Greece.

In Brookhart's (2006) review, certain studies found that teachers did not make distinctions between traditional and intersubjective assessment formats of assessment. For example, Mavrommatis (1997) found that in primary classrooms in Greece, teachers' resisted practices which challenged their traditional habits. Brookhart reports that teachers were negative about some aspects of intersubjective assessment (Barnes, 1985;

Frary, Cross, & Weber, 1993; Pryor & Akwesi, 1998). The following studies in Brookhart also found that it was difficult for teachers to provide adequate feedback (Bangert-Drowns, Kulik, Kulik, & Morgan, 1991; Butler, 1987; Butler & Nisan, 1986; Elawar & Corno, 1985; Isaacson, 1999; Kluger & DeNisi, 1996; Rea-Dickens, 2001; Ryan, Connell, & Deci, 1985; Torrance & Pryor, 1998). On the whole, these studies generally reported teachers' believing that intersubjective assessment practices were important, feeling negative about some aspects and needing much help making changes.

A similar scenario is depicted in the South African context. For example, in studies conducted after the introduction of intersubjective assessment practices, Pryor and Lubisi, (2001) found that the development of desired assessment practices was hampered mostly by implicit values, that were in tension with those underpinning the new assessment philosophy. These results were mirrored in the studies of Hariparsad (2004), Kotzé (2005) and Vandeyar and Killen (2003:119) which drew from case studies in poorly resourced schools. The effect of assessment change on school principals was no different: Mdluli (2004) who focused on the perceptions of primary school principals (in the Sedibeng West district and District 12 in Ormonde in Gauteng) on the assessment of learner performance in mathematics, found that participants' values regarding new practices created serious problems of manageability and interpretation. Singh's (2005) study in the Polokwane circuit in the Capricorn district of Limpopo province confirmed these findings, and attributed them to poor support and coordination from the Department of Education.

Ironically, studies in well-resourced schools showed similar results: Wilmot's (2005) study, which focused on the Grade 9 Learning Area of Human and Social Sciences of Curriculum 2005, shows evidence which suggests that in practice, the intersubjective notion of assessment requires considerable time and effort. The idea is conveyed that, even in resource-rich schools with small class sizes, pressure is created for busy teachers. Interestingly, even in developed countries where educator expertise and competencies are higher, and resources are better, the level of competency and confidence of educators in

their implementation of intersubjective tasks was reported as low (Maeroff, 1991; Brandt, 1992; Brindley, 1998; Smith et al., 1999; Worthen, 1993, cited in Thomas, 2003).

At the juncture of intersubjective assessment, we find ourselves confronting a huge inconsistency: there appears to be a substantial amount of discourse of intersubjective assessment that continually applauds it and at the same time there is the existence of genuine research on the ground, which reflects a far more complicated, messy and troubled state of affairs. It is precisely at this juncture that this genealogical inquiry locates itself: it intends to challenge the given narrative that goes from objectivist to intersubjectivist. In other words, it challenges the narrative of the victor, which in this case is that of intersubjective assessment.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ANALYSIS OF PRACTICES

“Genealogy is about the insurrection of knowledges. Not so much against the contents, methods, or concepts of a science; this is above all, primarily, an insurrection against the centralizing power -effects that are bound up with the institutionalization and workings of any scientific discourse organized in a society such as ours.”

(Foucault, 1975-1976: 9)

This chapter, “The Analysis of Practices”, constitutes the second dimension of this genealogical study. In this axis, an analysis is conducted of the practices on which the “problematizations” (explored in chapter Four) were formed. By conducting such an analysis, consideration is given to the points where the “planned” (ideology) and the “taken for granted” in intersubjective assessment, connect (Foucault, 1991a: 75). By the analyses conducted along these axes, the study works towards presenting a “nucleus of experience” in intersubjective assessment.

STRUCTURE OF ANALYSIS

The general framework of this analysis is constituted by an analytical grid of power-knowledge, in the intersubjective assessment practices identified in five “extracts”. Transcripts of each of the extracts are attached to the thesis as appendices. These extracts are drawn from the video recorded data collected at “C” High School. Using the techniques of rupture and discontinuity, a descent is conducted into separate issues and events in each extract, with the aim of exploring in detail their contingencies. Their events and emergences are then restructured so as to take account of subjugated knowledges.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING VIDEO DATA

Methodological considerations in this study were undertaken in the light of Foucault’s view that power can never be located in “*anybody’s hands*” (Foucault, 1980c: 89) and that it should be studied at “*the extreme points of its exercise, where it is always less legal in character*” (Foucault, 1980c: 96-97). This study attempted to conduct its analysis of power from a micro-level in an attempt to reveal how tactics and mechanisms of power operated at the level of everyday life in intersubjective assessment. This meant studying learners in real-life classroom situations; identifying who the learners/teachers were; understanding the negotiation of meaning and analysing the kinds of the power in operation at different levels within the context of the classroom. Video data was considered as appropriate means of doing this because of its potential to provide the study with dense contextual data (Grimshaw, 1982a; Gass & Houck, 1999; Iino, 1999; Fetterman, 1998; Heider, 1976; Watson-Gegeo et al., 1981, in Dufon, 2002). Williams and Clarke (2002) particularly argue for the strength of video-data in supplementing other data. Sherin and Han (2004) speak of the value of using video recordings of classes to focus certain strategic actions in teaching.

Video data showed promise for providing important information by its capacity to identify speakers and provide information about posture, gestures, clothing, gestures,

facial expressions, and other visual interactional cues. Although video-recording came across as invaluable in terms of capturing dense information, both auditory and visual, I was cognizant of its limitation in terms of not showing every observable thing that happens, but only that which occurred within the range of the camera lens (Dufon, 2002). In terms of wanting to unearth “hidden power structures” in intersubjective assessment practices, I would have had to infer about the unspoken thoughts and feelings of a participant, some of which may not be accurate. Another intricacy was that the video recording could be perceived as another “panoptic-eye” (Foucault, 1977) which subtly created compliant and docile behaviour on the part of the learners and teachers. In his book *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault writes about unearthing hidden forms of domination in schooling contexts through the concept of surveillance. He shows how surveillance works in contexts to ensure the compliance and docility of prisoners (Foucault, 1977).

In view of the above points, my challenge was to explore ways to obtain video data that would best enable me to construct a valid account of the phenomenon in question, yet reduce the harmful effects of surveillance. The study followed suggestions offered by the literature to reduce inaccurate observations: this involved playing back the tape (whenever in doubt) to the participants to get them to recall and describe their thoughts, feelings and reactions at different points in time during a given event (e.g., Corsaro, 1982; Erickson, 1975, 1982; Erickson & Schulz, 1982, Fiksdal, 1988; Iino, 1993; 1996; Watson-Gegeo et al., 1981; Fetterman, 1998, in Dufon, 2002). Retrospectively, the permanence of video data was invaluable in helping me to explore “hidden” forms of power: by playing back recorded material, I was able to experience events repeatedly. Through this process, I could see things that I had missed previously, weigh up issues more carefully and think carefully over the data before making inferences.

In using this genealogical framework, I do not promise to reveal the real “truth” which has been suppressed by power in intersubjective assessment. What I endeavour to do, is to follow McNay (1992) in providing a fluid space, in which to create other “truths” in intersubjective assessment.

EXTRACT "A"

RESISTANCE AND FREEDOM ARE ESSENTIAL TO POWER

NARRATIVE OF EXTRACT “A”

Jill, the teacher, hands out a worksheet to the class. She asks the learners who are seated in groups to be quiet. There appears to much casual chat going on by learners. Jill moves to her desk and is seen to be busy with some work. She makes eye contact intermittently with me.

Jill then directs her attention to the class, asking learners to look closely at a worksheet she had handed out earlier. She first points them to the one side of the worksheet where there is a section called “group-work”. She then tells them that they should focus on the other side of the worksheet where there are three columns that read: “Myths, legends and folktales”. Not all of the learners respond to the task. A handful of learners seem to be referring to corresponding section in their worksheets. Most of them are seen to be talking amongst themselves.

Jill reminds the class of the work they had previously done on the differences between the three subjects. There is a collective response from the few learners who are paying attention. Many learners are still not paying attention. Some of these learners are looking through desks; some are talking to each other and others are fidgeting in their bags. A learner approaches Jill’s desk with question. Jill is seen handing him a copy of the worksheet. Their conversation cannot be heard.

Jill moves to the front of the class and tells the class that they would be summarizing the worksheet in preparation for the examination. She spends some time waiting for the class to quieten down. She moves to the front of the class and draws columns in figure on board. She notices, by way of repeated glances in the direction of learners, that there is a lot of chatting and restlessness. She reminds the learners that the task she is handling is extremely important for the exams and they need to acknowledge that.

She moves to the board and draws three columns. There is a continued level of learner talking and restlessness. Jill turns around and, facing the learners waits silently. When

there is complete silence, she resumes talking. She proceeds to then divide the class into groups, splitting up the task into three activities. She informs each group of the tasks they had to give focus to. At this point, there is more learner-involvement in the activity. The learners generally appear to be discussing the worksheet and the allocated tasks. Learners look randomly in Jill's direction.

Jill first observes the activities from the front of the room. After a few minutes, she moves around the classroom, stopping at each group for a few minutes and listening to the discussions. There is a general buzz in the class. After a period of about five minutes, Jill asks a particular person in each group for the answers they had come up with. She begins the discussion by asking Michael in one of the groups, for his groups' response. Michael does not respond. Receiving no response to her question, she scolds the group. She moves on to each group, repeating the question and the answer. She became angry when learners' were hesitant to answer. She reminds the learners of the importance of the section for the examination. She moves to the board and writes down a few of the answers on the table she had drawn earlier. Jill takes note of a learner who talks loudly while she is busy on the board. She looks directly at the learner, and speaks to him sternly about his behavior. In the period following this incident, Jill receives more attention from the class.

Jill moves on to the topic of "legends". As her discussion continues, she notes, in both verbal and non-verbal ways, that learners are getting noisier and not paying attention to her activities. The noise levels increase with Jill making repeated requests for silence and learner involvement. This trend goes on for a while. Jill notes the learners' reluctance to engage in the writing tasks. At several successive points in the lesson, she speaks to the learners about their rudeness and lack of cooperation. Jill's progress on the task at this point has apparently come to a halt, with mostly disciplining going on. It is only when Jill receives the full cooperation of all her learners, that she resumes the activity. She continues with her discussion on the topic of "legends". For a few minutes, Jill receives the full attention of the class. After a few minutes into her discussion, Jill points out that the learners' had again become noisy and uncooperative.

ANALYSIS OF EXTRACT “A”

DISCONTINUITY

Foucault argued that there is an inherent link between resistance and power. In his work, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, (1978: 95) he says:

Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power.

Foucault's (1980c: 88-89) portrayal of power as a set of “asymmetrical relations” below, offers the possibility of resistance:

Power is not a commodity, a position, a prize or a plot; it is the operation of the political technologies throughout the social body. The functioning of these political rituals of power is exactly what sets up the non-egalitarian, asymmetrical relations.

Foucault did not see power as the possession of any individual. He suggested that it exists within human relations and includes possibilities for resistance.

This extract reflects moments of power relations functioning in the way that Foucault (1980) suggests. Events in the lesson show the circulation of power relations among the learners and between the teacher and learners in a range of ways. Resistance was found to be part of an ongoing negotiation between learners and the teacher. It had the distinctly defining character of springing up anywhere in space and time: it would appear to be suppressed at a certain moment, but it would start up again on its old path or even on a new track. It was within this interplay of teacher-learner *resistance* that a defining moment of discontinuity occurred, within the teacher-learner power relationships. The key task of this genealogical enterprise is to illuminate such power interplays. To assist in this task, Foucault's construct “*of power as a set of actions upon actions*” (Foucault, 1982: 208), was employed.

“A set of actions upon actions”

Foucault (1982: 208) portrays a relationship of power as “*a mode of action upon actions*”. He argues that power relations have roots within the social body rather than external to society as traditionally perceived. His work, such as that in *The History of Sexuality Volume 1* (1978) cited below, highlights that resistance, like power should not be thought of as existing in “central” points:

Power’s condition of possibility, or in any case the viewpoint which permits one to understand its exercise, even in its more peripheral effects and which also makes it possible to use its mechanisms as a grid of intelligibility of the social order, must not be sought in the primary existence of a central point, in a unique source of sovereignty from which secondary and descendant forms would emanate; it is the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable (Foucault, 1978: 93).

In view of the argument presented by Foucault (1978), this study does not attempt to analyse acts of resistance as emerging from distinct sources such as the learner or the teacher – but, rather as a complex, dynamic and unstable relationship between the teacher, the learners, and the social environment. From such a perspective, the analysis suggested that every time someone acted in the classroom, either the teacher or the learners, it closed off the potential for some reciprocal actions, while opening up the potential for others. Power, put into operation a discourse of actions – the teacher’s actions closed off and at the same time opened up the possibility, for further action from the learners and vice versa. The following ideas were suggested by the extract.

Events in the extract conveyed the impression that Jill used group-work both as a classroom *organizational tool* and as a tool to engage learners’ *collaboratively* on certain tasks. In many subtle ways, the extract suggested that Jill also used *group-work* as a tool to *discipline* learners. On an even deeper and perhaps more understated level, Jill was seen to use group-work to *window-dress* the progressive classroom practices advocated by the outcomes-based approach. The following scenes from the extract, which revolve

around Jill's use of the intersubjective technique of *group-work*, illustrate this relationship of power. Attention is given to particular scenes which overtly and covertly reflect such strategies. The effects produced for power, are then discussed.

It was noted that, on their entry into the classroom, learners routinely took up their seats in groups (for example, in frame 1). From the eight hours (collectively) that I spent in Jill's classroom, I observed that the arrangement of desks in groups, was a fixture. I also observed that the learners generally took up the same seats. In one of the intermittent conversations I had with Jill, she conveyed the idea that she arranged her classroom in groups for two reasons: to accommodate her large groups of learners in the limited space she had and, to conduct various "peer-activities". The idea that Jill intended to use group-work as an organisational tool as well as to engage learners collaboratively in peer tasks, suggested that she had intentions of incorporating "intersubjective" elements in her teaching. A scrutiny of the events around Jill's group-work activities convey the impression that many positive effects for power were produced.

For one, Jill's group-arrangement appeared to facilitate an economical use of physical space in the classroom. This idea is illustrated in the following frame (A28) where Jill is seen moving from group to group. It was noted that Jill moved with ease amongst the learners. She was found to be listening to the talk in each group. At one point she says: *"Ok I'm coming round to hear your discussions."* Her "listening in" on their conversations came across as strategic in the sense that she was able to pick up misconceptions, diagnose difficulties and then remediate them. The "group set-up" employed by Jill ensured not only an easier access to the learners, but also facilitated a way of ensuring their formative learning. In view of her predicament with large numbers of learners, Jill's strategy of grouping her learners was productive in the sense that it facilitated an efficient supervision of them - a duty intrinsic to Jill's role as a teacher.

Jill's strategy of pre-seating learners in groups also facilitated quicker access to activities that required collaborative engagement. The following situation (Frame A24) shows how

quickly Jill was able to allocate tasks to groups and in so doing, maximise on the time she had with her class:

...group number 1 (pointing to them)... group number three (pointing to them) and group number three (pointing to them)... you gonna discuss legends and then characteristics... Ok... and you guys are going to discuss folktales (pointing to a group)... Ok then we're going to give feed back on what you've decided they include...

It was found that by merely pointing to a group, Jill was promptly able to allocate them to a task. Her organizational structure allowed her to economize on time and energy, strategically creating more space for other activities.

Jill's organizational structure also facilitated a visibility of her learners from strategic vantage points. Events in A23 are exemplary of this idea. At this site, the learners were found to be attentive even though Jill was not directly watching them. She was found to be watching the groups from a peripheral point. Although her observation technique could easily suggest a form of "panoptic surveillance" (Foucault, 1977), this was not necessarily the case in this situation. In "panoptic surveillance" as conveyed by Foucault (1977), the gaze is strategic because the guard is removed- generating a form of self-surveillance. In this case, Jill's surveillance of her learners is seen as a necessary part of her duty as a teacher. There are however, other practices in the extract which have a stronger suggestion for Panopticism. In these cases, the circulation of power relations among the learners and between the teacher and learners occurred in both disciplining and regulating ways. The following is one such situation.

Jill was often found to link her work in the class directly to the examination. For example, the following situation (frame A8) reflects Jill providing "pointers" to learners, which she feels could be used by them to prepare for the "exams":

Ok now what we're going to do today is we're going to summarize that into this worksheet... (Points to point on worksheet for class)... so when you're preparing for exams... you'll have it in front of you...

On the surface, Jill's practices came across as above suspicion. However, further scrutiny suggested the existence of a more subtle and perhaps manipulative purpose. We found that when Jill summarised a section she expected the learners to use to prepare for the examination, she gave them typical answers they could use. The sense was conveyed that the examination was an important event for Jill. From this perspective, the power produced from the discourse of "examination", may have been put to positive effect by Jill, in that it provided a focus and sense of purpose to the lesson.

On a more subtle level, there were instances observed where Jill employed the discourse of examination as a technique to control her learner-interest levels. This trend is exemplified in frame A69 where Jill says:

8h I know (emphasis) this stuff... I'm doing this for you! ... And you need this for exams...

In this situation the sacrificial appeal on Jill's part is noted when she says, "*I am doing this for you, not for me.*" In this case, Jill was found to be using the exam to control and discipline her learners. She projected it as a high-stakes event or a "need" only she could fulfil. This idea is given weight by the scenes (for example, frames, A8 and A69) in which she particularly used the word "prepare for" in relation to the "examination". It could be argued that, in drawing attention to the personal sacrifice she was making for the learners, she manipulated them. Understandably, teachers need to be creative about the ways in which they attempt to maintain learner' interest in class activities. However, Jill's actions, like other teachers', of holding learner-interest at the cost of learner freedom, can be perceived as dangerous.

A scrutiny of the power produced, at various points of the teacher-learner relationship, conveyed the sense that Jill's "group-work" strategies were more inclined towards disciplinary purposes, than for purposes of collaboration or organization. Jill was characteristically observed employing a three-dimensional panoptic strategy to normalize her learners: She first put into place certain norms of expected behaviour; then regulated learners' oppositional behaviour through panoptic technologies such as surveillance, time, space, distribution, and classification. She then individualized them with the threat

of the “examination”. The following example captures this three-dimensional strategy in a salient way.

In Frame A1, Jill says, ‘*8h there's no talking*’, laying down certain norms regarding the activity. Such instructions, also found at other points in the extract, conveyed a sense that Jill was non-negotiable on the matter of the learners’ work ethic. Jill’s trend of laying down certain norms is suggested in frames A7/8 below:

*Ok and then what we did... is we wrote our own... and you decided whether you wanted to do a folktale or legend or myth... (Looks fleetingly around the room)...
Ok now what we’re going to do today is we’re going to summarize that into this worksheet... (Points to point on worksheet for class)... so when you’re preparing for exams... (Pauses facing class)...*

In these sites, Jill clarifies her expectations for the course of the lesson. It was interesting to note that when Jill got the sense that her learners were not co-operating, she employed further panoptic strategies.

The following example, drawn from the extract (frame A8) is illustrative of the kinds of techniques Jill characteristically employed to regain the cooperation of her learners. At this site, the learners appeared to be inattentive, noisy and uncooperative. Jill responds to this behaviour with a quick ‘gaze’ around the classroom. The speed of Jill’s surveillance could be regarded as effective in that it seemed to estimate the amount of opposition she was receiving, as well as to warn learners to constrain their behaviour in accordance with the rules she put into effect by that specific gaze. Jill’s technique of “waiting for a quiet moment”, was also strategic: It suggested that she was using *time* as a regulatory device to resist learner opposition. She gave them “time” to think about their actions and subsequently bring their behaviour back in line.

The third dimension of Jill’s actions, which perhaps completes the picture of discipline and control, is suggested by the events in frame A9. These interactions are captured below:

When you're preparing for exams you'll have it in front of you... and then we'll work with a group... (Inaudible)... but for now...I want everyone with a pen on this, looking at the three columns (showing the worksheet) on this side... (Puts it down)

Jill points out to her learners that their listening to her would benefit them in the examination. This strategy may be regarded as a technique which works to individualise them.

From the frequency with which Jill's three-point plan was utilised, one could argue that her use of group-work went beyond its function as a tool of organisation or of collaborative engagement, to that which served a disciplinary purpose. When Jill set up her lesson for group-work, she set up a platform with which she normalized her learners, making them "docile" conforming subjects. In terms of their desire to be regarded as "good learners", they were expected to obey her rules. The idea, that this might have been an *unconscious* motive on Jill's part, is also a possibility.

The extract shows several points in which Jill displays worthy intentions for using group-work. For example, the text within frame A9 (presented below), suggests her expression of a plan of how the group-aspect would pan out in the broad scheme of her lesson:

...you'll have it in front of you... and then we'll work with a group...

In Frame A20, we find her following through with her plan, by putting into place certain lines of action. She says:

Ok what I'm gonna do... is I'm gonna give... you three groups over here...group number 1, group number two (pointing to another set of learners)... and group number three (pointing to another set of learners).

As depicted in frame A22 below, she is then heard allocating tasks to each group:

You're going to discuss the characteristics of Myths... what are... what is a myth?
(Question aimed at a particular group of learners. Learners do not provide an answer to the question)... *OK I want you three groups to discuss that.*

Frame A28 shows Jill following up on the success of the activity. In this site she is found walking *around from group to group –listening to the talk in each group*. Learners were

found in this site, to be engaged in the task. This is suggested for example in frame A29, where an apparent “discussion” is carried out in groups for some time. Although the extract suggested that Jill has sound intentions with group-work practices, events (such as those discussed below) suggested that her group-work practices were, in the main, unproductive.

The extract suggested that learners were reluctant to participate in the activities. To begin with, there was an apparent unwillingness by learners’ to participate in the “writing” tasks set out by Jill. Her instructions were met by “*squeals and complaints*”. Other apparent “reluctant” responses are reflected in the following excerpts from the extract:

A34 (Jill): *What were you doing in our discussion time?*

You were supposed to discuss what a myth was about!

Now I wanna know your feedback...

(A learner responds on behalf of the group. The answer is not audible): *We were discussing what a myth is and ...communities* (Inaudible and vague).

A38, 38, 40 (Jill): *OK group number two- what did you discuss?*

(Learner response hardly audible)

(Jill): *I’m sorry... the class is being rude. Let’s just wait for everybody! OK?*

A44, A45 (Jill): *Ok group number three, what did you come up with?*

(Response soft...inaudible)

Frame A46 (Jill): *Just wait Michael... wait for the class to settle down...* (Jill shows frustration in her body language – She looks sternly at the class for a few seconds). *OK* (repeats learners answer)... *includes small communities* (writes this out on the board).

A50, A51 (Jill): *OK legends... Stom and P...what did you come up with?*

Please 8h... (Inaudible)... exaggerated story ...Kay... your group (pointing to them)... Johara? What did you come up with... when you were discussing legends?

(Learner): Miss ... (Inaudible)

Frame A56 (Jill): K sorry... Who else was doing legends... was it just Stom and you?

And you guys were legends? OK what did you guys come up with?

(Learner response inaudible)

Frames A60-65 (Jill): We're going to write it out with the rest of the notes I'm going to give you guys later... (Learner response muffled).

(Jill): Just hold on.... wait for the class please...

(Learner): It also teaches you a lesson that also has a moral to it...

(Jill): K... so it teaches a lesson... and it has a moral...and also...

It could be argued that the events in Frame A41 are reflective of the limited response learners displayed, towards the activities. It was found that only a few learners copied down the notes from the board. Furthermore, when Jill stimulated intersubjective discussion; the learners did not always respond to her questions. On occasions where they did, their responses were generally inarticulate. In this case it may be argued that learners were not so much reluctant to answer, as the conditions of the classroom were such that it was hard to be heard. The learners' non-verbal language suggested that they were unwilling to participate: they appeared to be making eye-contact with other members of their groups in ways which were suggestive of their not having done the work. Perhaps they were looking for moral support from the others.

Further reluctance on the part of the learners, was found by way of the moments of silence that punctuated the activities. While silence may be regarded by educationists as an important part of the internalisation process of learning, one could see from the learner-to-learner non-verbal communication which accompanied the silence, that it was

more of a form of defiance. This is evident in frame A68 for example, where two learners exchange glances and do not make eye contact with teacher. What distinguished this silence as 'reluctant participation' was the body language within which it was couched: the eye contact that learners shared was suggestive of hidden messages that were being exchanged amongst them.

Learners' oppositional behaviour, in this extract, could be linked in an interesting way to an academic emphasis: "writing" and "examination". It was noted that learner opposition had a tendency of converging around Jill's manipulative use of the "examination". For example, in frame A34 Jill states:

I hope you're writing this down in your columns? (learners fuss and complain) ...I said will you discuss it as a whole... and they can include both people and animals... guys what you need to understand about legends is the characters are exaggerated...

It could be argued that Jill conveyed a certain superiority of school knowledge. She did this not only by determining which topics were "important", but in her emphasis thereof for the "examination". She made it known that certain concerns, interests, and views of learners were less worth discussing, than topics she perceived as suiting her own academic agenda and the schools'.

It may be argued, that the learners' indications of reluctant participation, were the result of a form of boredom they might have naturally experienced with the activities. At the same time, there were in evidence, brazen moments of unwillingness which suggested that something more complex and subtle was going on. For example, frame A4 reflects that almost half the class did not refer to a corresponding section in their worksheets as requested by Jill. In addition, learners were often observed arguing with Jill, expressing disagreement with her views of knowledge, and complaining that they had not received any feedback on their written work.

Responses such as those above, initially conveyed the suggestion of the learners being *critical* of their learning environment. This could be seen as favourable, in the light of the

goals advocated in intersubjective assessment practice. However, further scrutiny of the discourse leads us to believe otherwise. It was apparent from the evidently tense teacher-learner relationships, as well as the discourse of reluctance in existence throughout the extract, that the learners' dissatisfaction had more to do with Jill's teaching. Learners' reluctances appeared to produce certain negative effects for learning. For one there was an apparent lack of progress in terms of Jill's stated aims for the lesson. In addition, poor learner cooperation impacted negatively on the completion of tasks. The coupled acts of learner-reluctance and teacher-counteraction mounted tensions between Jill and her learners. Neither of them appeared to be comfortable with the situation. A point which had significance later was that, despite the indications of poor lesson productivity, Jill persisted with her current practice.

Jill made many attempts in the lesson to draw attention to her use of intersubjective techniques of assessment. At times it appeared as though she was emphasising elements of intersubjective assessment for the benefit of the learners. At others the impression was conveyed that this was done for my benefit. In the following cases, she is found emphasising her use of "group-work" techniques. The first reference illustrates her repetitive articulation of the word/idea within a particularly small part of the lesson. In this scene (frame A3) she refers her learners to a section on the worksheet headed "group-work":

Ok. 8h I want you looking at this worksheet I've just handed out (Jill raises worksheets in hand for class to see)... On the one side there's a big heading "group-work"...I want you looking at the other side where there's three columns...that say "myths, legends and folktales (Jill points these out to class).

Events later in the lesson indicate that Jill's work was actually focused on the information on the reverse side of the worksheet, headed, "Myths, legends and folktales". Her reference to the "group-work" aspect on the worksheet appeared to have no relevance at that point in the lesson. It appeared as though Jill's emphasis on *group-work* had something to do with my presence in the classroom. This was suggested by the glances she repeatedly directed at me whenever she mentioned the word "group-work" (in frame A2, *J looks fleetingly at me sitting at the back of the classroom*). One got the sense that

her approach bore a subtle message for my benefit. Similar events in the extract suggested that more subtle discourses were at play. The following example gives support to this idea.

It was noted that although Jill used the group work technique, which is aimed at fostering collaboration, she often restricted the learners' collaborative efforts by putting into place strict rules of "no talking". I gathered from my discussions with a few learners after the lesson, that Jill conducted group activities only on the few occasions that I sat in on her classes. When I interviewed a group of learners regarding their feelings about group-activities, they informed me that they did not work in groups "normally", and it was only when I was present in the classroom, that they were given group-work tasks. The learners that were interviewed conveyed the sense, that they enjoyed working in groups whenever they were given the chance to do so. One got the impression that although Jill employed an intersubjective organizational structure, she did not fully utilise it as a tool for learning. This left us questioning why Jill employed such strategies in the first place. Perhaps Jill used the technique to "window dress" or to create the impression to an external observer (such as myself), that she was embracing the new forms of assessment. Jill's persistent "outward" attempts, to convey her acceptance of the practices of intersubjective assessment in this extract, hint at the possibility of an "inward" struggle with them. This is a vital point which is discussed in detail at further stages of the analysis.

Up to this point, the various power plays within the teacher-learner relationships, pointed to the existence of a strong discourse of resistance. In fact, resistance was almost a reality of life in this classroom: it had the distinct character of springing up anywhere in space and time. Although at times it would appear to be put down, it would start up again on its old path, or even a new track. It was within this interplay of teacher-learner *resistance* that, further defining moments of discontinuity occurred. These instances created several fractures in the established pattern of teacher-learner power relationships. The following discussion uses Foucault's (1982) idea "*of power as a clash of actions upon actions*", to put a spotlight on the discourse of *resistance* in existence in this classroom.

A Clash of ‘Actions upon Actions’

Foucault (1982: 220) projects the following two elements, as critical to power as a relationship:

...the ‘other’ (the one over whom power is exercised) be thoroughly recognized and maintained to the very end as a person who acts; and that faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up. . . . [Power is] a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions.

His argument is that power depends on the actions, or power, of others to sustain it. In other words he believes that for power to exist, the other has to be equally able to act or equally able to resist (Foucault, 1982). In this extract, we are witness to such interplays of power between Jill and her learners. Jill’s learners employed several oppositional tactics to counteract Jill’s classroom strategies. To these, Jill reacted with further counter strategies, which learners in turn, defied further. A salient example of this form of “interplay” is found around frame A104.

In frames A104 and A105, a learner is heard speaking out loud. Jill’s response was touchy and volatile. She drew on technologies of pastoral power- demanding confession, individualizing and excluding the learner. We find that she looks directly at learner and asks sternly (frowning), raising the tone of her voice, “*Are you just going to carry on talking?*” The learner responded by looking downward and saying nothing. His body language (lowered eyes) suggested his possible guilt and shame. He subordinated himself; rendering himself as “guilty”- an “unworthy” member of the class.

It was found that while Jill was able to sustain her dominance over learners for a certain period, (as is evident in frame A125) resistance flared up again in new and old paths (see frames A126 to A150). We were thus witnesses to a strong and sustained “play of dominations” or deadlock of teacher-learner resistance which, through the strain imposed on it by both dominations, imploded, completely rupturing the learner-teacher

relationship. This moment of rupture could be seen as symbolic of Jill's rejection of the intersubjective mode of assessment.

There was much within the extract, which suggested that Jill rejected the intersubjective assessment practices, because they loosened her explicit hold on power. We found her rejecting her earlier strategy of allowing learners the freedom to explore the context of learning themselves. Jill appeared to take on a top-down role where she dominated the discourse, while her learners played a passive role. Frames A108 to A124 are suggestive of this. In these sites, we find Jill engaged in a monologue: she asks several questions without allowing for learner interaction. Her mode of instruction here could be described as one of 'recitation'. Her body language takes on an assertive character: her pace is quicker than before, her voice louder. Events in frame A116 are also reflective of this idea. In this frame Jill says:

Ok it also says... it involves Gods and Goddesses... (pointing to the board)... like we said over here... remember in our creation myths too... it was the Gods and the Goddesses who were creating... who were making things come about... Ok different Gods and Goddesses... OK so those were our ... (inaudible)... small communities... Yes!

One got the impression from these interactions that Jill was more confident after she had reclaimed control of the lesson. At this juncture, a subtle, but critical change in power relationships had taken place. Jill's counteractions to her learners' defiant behaviour brought on a change in their responses: the learners surrendered to Jill's domination as "docile subjects" (Foucault, 1977). It was apparent that Jill's repossession of control was short-lived: learners' oppositional tactics started up again after a short period.

In our earlier discussions, we took note of Foucault's (1980c) rejection of the dichotomous view of power, as a capacity or tool of the dominant. Foucault's (1980c: 98) point is that power is not:

That which makes the difference between those who exclusively possess and retain it...and those who do not have it and submit to it...

From Foucault's (1980c) line of thought, even though Jill and her learners may have been in unequal positions, the likelihood always existed for these terms to be reversed. As Foucault (1975-1976:280) says:

We can never be ensnared by power; we can always modify its grip in determinate conditions and according to a precise strategy."

Foucault encourages us to believe that individuals in unequal positions of power have at their disposal "a *whole field of responses, reactions, results and possible inventions*" (1982: 220). Foucault argues for dynamic relations of power which *encourage* resistance. Although one may argue that Foucault promotes resistance; it is rather to allow the opportunity for resistance to be present. He believed that the presence of resistance brings uncertainty into the system of power relations, allowing for a transformation which both disrupts the process of learning and at the same time also enables some freedom.

Foucault's (1982) readings encourage us to challenge and transform the disciplinary conditions within which we struggle. He maintains that if we deny the potential to resist we could prevent any means by which to change or reverse relations of power. We are able to see that the learners who might have found themselves on the receiving end of power responded as *active* subjects in the sense that they displayed the capacity to act and used what was at their disposal to carry out these actions. Such responses could be regarded as constructive in terms of the intersubjective notion of learning. Yet one does not get the clear sense in the extract that learners were responding in a resistant way to their *domination*. If this were so, the character of their defiance would have been different from what they exhibited when Jill did allow for more intersubjective exploration. It was noted that the learners' oppositional behaviour had the same character throughout the extract suggesting that their reluctances were more as a response to boredom than to any possible domination of themselves.

CONTINGENCY

This section explores the contingency of the “truths” unearthed above. It does this by analysing the discourses of the struggles inherent to the extract. In this endeavour, I was not interested in taking sides. Rather I was interested in listening to the voices within the struggles and searching for what they wanted to say. Rather than exploring the individual attitudes, beliefs, and motivations behind the struggles, these factors were explored as a collective- specifically examining how and why they worked. To mobilise this discussion, attempts were made to draw on frameworks that Foucault’s readers have used to substantiate different actions of *resistance*.

Foucault (1982: 210-211) makes the following comment about resistance:

I would like to suggest another way to go further towards a new economy of power relations, a way which is more empirical, more directly related to our present situation, and which implies more relations between theory and practice. It consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point ... in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations.

In cognisance of Foucault’s (1982) point, this critique is not offered as a validation of resistant behaviour, but as an effort to understand resistance and its implications for intersubjective assessment practices. In recognizing these empirical examples of resistance and struggle, this study acknowledge Foucault’s (1982) intentions by not using them to substantiate resistance.

Three frameworks are discussed: “*Multiple subjectivities*”, “*Teachers: safe versus risky roles*” and “*Learners: school versus cultural identities*”.

Multiple Subjectivities

Alpert (1991) offers insight about adolescents which has salience for our understanding of resistance in this extract. In Alpert's view, the literature on adolescents distinguishes the adolescent age group from younger children and from adults. Citing other writers, she argues that adolescents like to converse with their peers (Csikszentmihalyi et al. 1977) and are interested in expressing their opinions on many subjects (Crow and Crow 1956, 1965; McCandless and Coop 1979; Nelson and Rosenbaum 1972; Rice 1975, 1978). Her point is that they have a special culture characterized by special dress, certain types of entertainment, and unique language. She notes that this language is described as "*a blend of accepted usage and special jargon, with constantly changing modifications*" (Rogers 1981). It serves to demarcate adolescents from adults and to provide separate identities to different youth subcultures (Leona, in Alpert, 1991).

Alpert found links between teachers' instructional strategies and learner resistance. Her study draws a comparison between two modes of learner-teacher interaction: the "recitation mode" suggested by Mehan, in Alpert (1991) and "responsive teaching" mode suggested by Shuy, in Alpert (1991). Recitation teaching is "closed-ended" emphasizing teacher-centeredness. On the other hand, in "responsive teaching" the teacher facilitates more than judges, shares equal rights with learners in turn taking, uses informal, everyday language as a legitimate practice (Shuy, cited in Alpert, 1991). Alpert found that in classrooms where resistance was predominant, the transaction mode was closer to the recitation mode. In contrast, when the teacher-learner interactional mode was of the response kind, the resistance was negligible. Alpert argues that learner resistance is likely to appear in classrooms where a recitation style is typical of classroom interactions. Her idea is that acceptance and compliance will be dominant in classrooms where the teacher facilitates a responsive style of classroom discourse (Shuy, cited in Alpert, 1991).

The dimensions of adolescent culture highlighted for us by Alpert (1991) are pertinent to this study. The intersubjective notion of assessment is cognizant of these dimensions of adolescent culture, having incorporated new "responsive" methodologies into its

framework through concepts such as *formative assessment*, *peer assessment*, *feedback*, *open-discourse*, etc. What Alpert says about teaching styles and learner resistance may have much empirical support in this study. In this lesson, the teacher is using an intersubjective pedagogy but the power relations are intense. However, I do not subject my data to these analyses: to look at resistance from this perspective may provide a skewed view – one which sees resistance as a static, fixed entity that could be perceived from a Foucauldian perspective, as lacking.

A more useful conceptualization is offered in the literature: Colby (2006) argues that it may be the struggle to create cohesive selves out of multiple and contradictory subjectivities that creates resistance in the first place. She cites other writers such as Field & Olafson (1999), who depict learner resistance as tied to a struggle to fulfil the multiple subject positions society demands of them while still forming seemingly unique and cohesive identities. The work of Field & Olafson (1999: 70) cites Davies' definition of resistance as:

...the simultaneous struggle to be seamlessly meshed in the social fabric and to know and to signal oneself as a being with specificity...

Colby (2006: 23) also cites Brooke's (1987) view, that learners reflect their resistance to the limiting subjectivity schools placed upon them, by engaging in behaviour called "underlife". This includes activities such as the writing of notes in class and talking to friends. Brooke argues, that learners respond in such ways because they have no other means for expressing the multiple sides of themselves, which are not given consideration in their school subjectivities.

Field & Olafson's (1999) conceptualisation of "*multiple and contradictory subjectivities*", has significance for both learners and teachers in this study. Chapter Two of this dissertation looked at the implications for teachers and learners incurred by the historical shift in assessment from the "objective" view to the "intersubjective" view. This discussion highlighted a few of the new identities and subjectivities that this new policy suggests of learners. Learners who were previously seen as the passive objects of tests and examinations were, by the new conceptualisation, projected as taking on

multiple subjectivities of among other things, active, motivated and responsible learners (Matusov, 1999). Teachers' subjectivities also implied a multiplicity: whilst in the past the teacher maintained an "objective" distance from the assessed, the new conception of assessment expects teachers to take on the highly interactive roles of "facilitator", "judge", provider of "feedback", "care-giver", to name but a few. Teachers and learners' new subjectivities may be seen as contradictory in the sense that they move from one extreme to another.

Field & Olafson's (1999) idea of *multiple and contradictory subjectivities* of learners, cited in Colby (2006), lends itself to this analysis. Apart from the insight it offers on learners, it is also suggestive of a framework that could be extended to explore contingencies that relate to teachers as well. The framework of *multiple and contradictory subjectivities*, is used in the next angle of scrutiny. This part of the scrutiny, the *Emergence*, looks at the struggles faced by the teacher and learners in their attempts to integrate their multiple subjectivities into cohesive forms. This study adopts the trend used by Lindquist (2004), cited in Colby (2006), of not only labelling identity struggles as resistance, but also of arguing for a way to profitably utilize the knowledge produced by these multiple subjectivities, for the better of intersubjective assessment. Jill's struggles are looked at first. This is followed by those of the learners'.

EMERGENCE

Teachers: "Safe" versus "Risky" Roles

There was much within this extract to suggest that Jill struggled with her own subjectivities. The discussions above have illustrated the tensions Jill experienced when caught between conflicting subjectivities. It was noted that, in her use of intersubjective techniques (in this case, particularly group-work), Jill found the power relations rather intense, and rejected these practices for those that secured her dominance over the relationship between herself and her learners. It was apparent that when she *did* use intersubjective methodologies, they seemed to serve the purpose of disciplining learners,

rather than that of developing human agency. The impression was conveyed that Jill struggled to embrace a new subjectivity of “intermediary” in her role as intersubjective teacher. This role comes across as an extreme to her existing (or “old”) subjectivity of teacher “in charge”. In the face of such tension, Jill opted for the familiarity and safety of her traditional role – a choice which ensured her position of being in control.

At the same time, another of Jill’s subjectivities seemed to be implicated in her struggles. This was possibly her need to be seen by others (such as a colleague like myself), as being progressive and pro-change. By “pro-change”, one recognises Jill’s desire to bring her assessment practices into line with the new outcomes-based practices advocated in current curricular policy documents. My presence in the class might have compounded this complexity because (as I explained in my biography), teachers at the school believed that I had “expert” understanding of the outcomes-based assessment methodologies. We can understand that Jill may have tried to convey the impression that she was receptive to the changes currently advocated. From this perspective, Jill’s use of “group-work” comes across as a form of “window dressing”- it was for her, a tool to reflect (to an outsider’s gaze, such as that of mine) that she was progressive and open to intersubjective teaching/assessment methodologies.

It could be argued that Jill’s *showing* of one thing, and *doing* of another, was an outward manifestation of her inner multiple subjectivities: her conflicting identities as “progressive outcomes-based assessor/facilitator/mediator/care-giver” and “traditional in-charge teacher”. While she set up the scene for progressiveness (seating learners in groups, using intersubjective techniques of teaching and assessment), she experienced the *risk* of losing control of learners and so reverted to her traditional *safe* role of where she retained control. In this *safe* role, she resorted to practices such as “lecture-style” teaching where she retained full control of the lesson. In this role she used other strategies at her disposal to sustain the control. For example, she used the “examination” as a tool to help her sustain and maintain her learners’ interest in her teaching. Traditionally, the *examination* is argued to have a strong hold over learners and teachers as well (Broadfoot, 1989). Its purpose of *grading* and subsequently *classifying* learners as

successful or unsuccessful (passing or failing) made it an instrument of control: for learners it was perceived as a “high stakes” event which determined whether they would be promoted to the next phase of their learning. Its hold over teachers was characterised by their “teaching to the test” (Broadfoot, 1989).

The literature on intersubjective assessment speaks of the *formative* and *summative* purposes of evaluation, with the traditional “examination” often presented as a typical form of *summative* assessment. *Formative assessment* is a form of evaluating learners’ ongoing progress. It does not necessarily involve the grading of learners’ work (Brookhart, 1999). *Summative Assessment*, which is generally structured as a test, is given to learners after a phase of learning (Black, cited in Brookhart, 1999). Within the tradition of intersubjective assessment, the *examination* retains certain significance but is not the only aspect that determines whether a learner would pass or fail; it is given in conjunction with formative assessment on an on-going basis. Jill’s perception of the examination appeared traditional: she saw it as an event one should extensively prepare for. She repeatedly refers to the “examination”, suggesting that she valued this idea.

Apparently the situation such as that portrayed above, is not unusual. The literature suggests that summative assessment is often a predominant factor in current assessment practice - a situation difficult to avoid - given the current, stratified, nature of most education systems (Brookhart, 1999). Due to the fact that summative testing is difficult to escape, the literature suggests that the teacher takes on the duty of reducing possible negative effects that summative testing may have on learning (Brookhart, 1999). In view of these insights, any attempt to make judgments about the predominance of summative assessment in Jill’s practices, would have been a futile exercise. It was apparently more important to determine whether Jill *did* attempt to minimize the possible harmful effects of summative testing on learning. It is apparent that things did not happen this way in Jill’s classroom: she was seen to be teaching “to the test” and made no apparent effort to reduce the negativity of such practice.

Understandably, teachers are inclined to control the level of learner participation so that the activities within a lesson get done (Hammersley, 1974 cited in McFarland, 2001). It is argued that too much or too little learner involvement can pose a danger to the task's completion, so the educator is expected to control and motivate, or push and pull, their learners along (Waller 1932; Bidwell 1965 in McFarland, 2001). Thus, although learner-centred tasks, such as group work, discussion, and learner presentations, gave the learners greater access to public discourse and one another (Hallinan 1989; Stodolsky 1988; Bossert 1977; Metz 1978, cited in McFarland, 2001), one can understand Jill's leaning towards teacher-centred tasks, such as recitation, and examination. These tasks apparently gave Jill rigid control over access to discourse. Moreover, it was easier for Jill to monitor her learners' behaviour during teacher-centred tasks than during learner-centred tasks. This is an argument Alpert (1991) takes further. She notes that during teacher-centred tasks, acts of open defiance are more observable, accentuated, and inappropriate, thereby incurring more severe sanctions from the teacher (Alpert, 1991).

In no way do I suggest that teacher-centred tasks are better formats of teaching and assessment. What is argued here is that learner-centred tasks also have costs - they appear to diminish classroom control and create opportunities for learners to breach and undermine class lessons. Hence, rather than claim that any one of these formats is better than others, this analysis has simply attempted to show the relationship that various formats of teaching and assessment have to learner opposition.

Learners: “Passive” versus “Active” Roles

The idea that learners struggled with multiple subjectivities was very evident in the extract. These struggles were manifested in a variety of resistant acts. In the group-work activity, the learners showed very little interest in the issues under discussion. One can argue that the activity on the whole, was quite unsuccessful. In this activity, Jill took what she had already taught in the previous lesson, and reinforced, it using group work as a revision tool. There was no need for learners' creative involvement, seeing that they

merely had to recall ideas they were taught in the previous lesson. It was found that they easily became bored and restless, seeking every small avenue to vent their frustrations. On the whole, one got the impression that the lesson was unsuccessful: for a large percentage of this lesson, learners remained uninvolved in the activities.

Perhaps an unearthing of some of the continuities in Jill's previous teaching, may help to shed light on the learners' apparent un-cooperative behaviour. In the previous lesson, which was conducted in the drama room, we noted that Jill taught part of the lesson using a typical top-down approach or lecture-style. She then placed the learners into groups where they were collectively required to come up with their own examples of fairytales, myths and tales. There was a small written component to this task and Jill collected these pieces of work at the end of the lesson. During this group-work activity, learners' showed very little inattentiveness. Although there were instances of learners being distracted, this was very low-key and they generally seemed to be enthusiastic about the task. Some of them were very concerned about the marks they might have received for their submissions. One of the learners questioned Jill about it in the lesson asking, "*Miss have you marked our stories?*" (See frame A12). While only one learner asked the question, many heads turned to the teacher to hear her response. There was a clear sense that the learners were eager to know the outcome of that task.

We were left pondering the issue of what element inherent to the two intersubjective (group-work) tasks made the one successful and the other not. There is much which suggests that it came down to their levels of affording learners' choices and decision-making options. Even though they were put into groups for both activities, they were only really "involved" in the earlier case. In the earlier activity, learners were required to use their creative instincts. The level of personal choice and decision-making was high and valued by the teacher. It could be argued that the need for their creative involvement stimulated more interest. In the later activity, the learners' role was *passive* in the sense that they were offered very little scope for their creative input, use of choice or decision-making skills. The extract revealed situations in which learners generally resisted teaching styles which deprived them of choice or decision-making. Furthermore, certain

frames revealed situations where learners' opposition seemed to immediately follow situations where they were not included in decision-making processes. The following are examples of such situations.

In Frame A3, for example, Jill's use of "I want" indicates her desire to dominate the activity and limit learner choice:

Ok. 8h I want you looking at this worksheet I've just handed out (Jill raises worksheets in hand for class to see) ...On the one side there's a big heading "group-work"...I want you looking at the other side where there's three columns...that say "myths, legends and folktales"... (Jill points this out to the class).

In this scene, the learners were being subjected to Jill's regularizing techniques of determining of rules and restrictions. In another frame (see frame A34), Jill's use of use of the words "*I said you will*" could be seen to discourage potential learner choice or freedom. In the example below (see frame A20 and A24), the idea was conveyed that learners were not participants in the determination of assessment criteria - but rather recipients, of top-down decisions made by the teacher:

Ok what I'm gonna do is I'm gonna give... you three groups over here...group number 1, group number two (points to another set of learners)...and group number three (looks at another set of learners)...

You're going to discuss the characteristics of Myths... what are... what is a myth?OK I want you three groups to discuss that...

From the interactions reflected in the above situations, one got the distinct impression that the learners were less resistant to intersubjective approaches which favoured their personal choices and decision-making skills.

In the light of the above discussion it could be argued that the lesson's lack of success (boredom generated) was attributed to the repetitiveness which characterised it. As suggested by the following frames (A95 and A97), questions dealing with subject-matter concepts related to the aspects she had taught previously:

Shhh... What happens after the climax in the creation myth?

Goes back to a ... carries on OK?

Ok so what were the creation myths we wrote?

As is apparent, Jill asked mostly descriptive, factual and what Alpert (1991) sees as “known information”. In addition to this, Jill assigned the class activities that were aimed at reinforcing subject matter and academic concepts and competencies. This idea is illustrated in frame A83 where Jill says:

Creation myths OK... Remember we wrote them? (Writing on board)... the creation myths...

It was noted that Jill did not ask the learners any questions about their experiences in relation to the aspects they read. From these scenarios, the impression was conveyed that the learners were less resistant to intersubjective approaches, which favoured their personal input in the activity.

The analysis revealed that the learners’ and teachers’ multiple and conflicting subjectivities had much to do with the tensions they experienced. It was apparent from the examples drawn from the extract that even though these multiplicities may have been fraught with contradictions and resistances, teachers and learners still engaged with them in meaningful and constructive ways. In view of this, Field & Olafson’s (1999) ideas have support in this study. Perhaps it is fitting to argue that the teacher-learner resistances could be manifestations of their attempts to integrate their multiple subjectivities into a cohesive whole. From this perspective, the resistances are not seen as necessarily manifestations of their rejection of certain practices, but perhaps manifestations of their struggles in coming to terms with them.

It could be argued that, for stronger coherence in teacher and learner subjectivities, both parties need to strategise aspects of each others’ roles. In reflecting on the extract, we encounter a trend where Jill used certain *approaches* to engage learners and they in turn employed certain *tactics* to oppose Jill’s techniques. Perhaps for positive effect, both parties need to be willing to reverse these roles so that real negotiation may take place: Teachers need to be opportunistic in class and take advantage of learning moments – in this sense I mean *free* moments that occur spontaneously in classrooms that can create a

special significance for learning. For instance, in this extract it would be the moment when Jill's structured plan was first fractured by learners' oppositional tactics. Here Jill could have, instead of fighting the moment, embraced it and used it to illustrate a point or in some way have built it into the lesson. In other words, for teachers, this entails judging the needs of the learners and the situation and making the best judgment for it, even if this judgment may not meet the prescribed rules the teacher has set out for the class or that have been established by tradition within the institution.

Foucault (1982: 341) writes that, "...power is a set of actions upon other actions." From Foucault's (1982) perspective, resistance like power exists in a relationship. Foucault characterises power and thus resistance as a type of negotiation. One gets the sense from Foucault's ideas, that for negotiation to progress most productively in learning environments, it is vital that both parties (learners and teacher) should work towards better conditions. It could be argued that in the context of intersubjective assessment, this type of negotiation is crucial because it is only when teachers can put themselves in the place of their learners that real arbitration can occur. It is perhaps only in this way that teachers can perceive what the needs of their learners actually are.

A REFLECTION ON EXTRACT "A"

I began this section with the aim of providing an understanding of the ongoing progression of struggles of resistance in Jill's classroom. It is apparent from the struggles of resistance in this extract that the lesson was characterised by deep instabilities, fragmentations and intricate connections to the multiple and conflicting subjectivities of both the teacher and the learners. I argued that the reason behind the resistance has to do with the learners being *passive* rather than *active* participants in the group work activity. This idea is implicated in Jill's conflicting *safe* versus *risky* subjectivities which compels her top-down approach. A point that is further implicated is that the lesson comes across as a form of *window dressing* given that the work was already done the work in the previous lesson.

This is a vital point as the whole lesson then comes down to a power play with me caught in the middle. The implication is that the entire group-work activity was all for my benefit and the whole thing is a part of a charade. This is a new struggle, and clearly important one for this genealogical analysis. This point is discussed at a further stage of the analysis.

EXTRACT "B"

THE CONDUCT OF CONDUCT

NARRATIVE OF EXTRACT 'B'

The lesson opens with Mary asking her learners for silence. She then informs them that they would be spending a bit of time discussing each of the group's presentations. She makes a point that these discussions would be about the assessment of each of performance. She says that before getting started, she needed to ask them a few serious questions, about which they had to be very honest. She repeats that they had to be honest with her and that if they did not do the work, they would be liable for order marks.

A learner asks how many marks they would receive. Mary questions why the number was important. She states that they would be receiving punishment for not completing their tasks. A learner (Jess) raises her hand. Mary inquires what she needed? Jess queries the number of marks they would be receiving and explains that she already has four order marks on account of another teacher giving them to her for something she believes, was not her fault. Mary tells the class that this issue was taking up a lot of time. She makes it known that the final decision was hers. Although Jess's hand goes up again, she is stopped short by Mary and told to be quiet. She emphasises that she would deal with the matter later. Another hand goes up. A learner, Raynard pleads with Mary to be allowed to receive only two order marks. Mary tells them that they are being persistent. She gives in to their requests for two order marks. She reminds them that they should not be bargaining with her.

She then demands reasons why the work was not done. She asks which of the groups had not completed the assessment tasks. She points to a group at the back of the classroom. A learner in this group states that they finished most of the activity but not completely, as they had run out of time. Mary looks to another group, asking the same question. She asks for a show of hands, briefly assessing the response and realising that only two groups had actually completed the tasks. She makes known her decision that each group would be receiving two order marks each. She threatens them, saying that if they did not complete the task by the next day; they could be liable for a worse form of punishment,

which was a Saturday detention. At this point she asks the learners to focus on the task. She looks briefly at me, smiling and shaking her head. Speaking louder than before, and looking in my direction, she asks the learners to remember how each group had done their play. She reminds them that after each group had watched each other's performances, they should have filled in an evaluation on the assessment sheet. She asks for the final mark they had awarded to each group, as well as a justification for the marks.

She asks for the leader of the group that she was pointing to. The group appears to be in the process of choosing a leader. They explain that they did not know that they had to discuss the activities together. Mary points out that this particular group had not approached the task in the way she expected them to. She tells this group that they were messing around. She asks them to leave out the explanation and focus instead on the final mark. She asks Preshalen who normally did his work, to respond. She appears to be surprised that he had also not done the work. Preshalen responds that they had given it fifteen. She puts the mark up on the board. She asks them to remind her which group they had assessed. She then moves on to the next group.

Kamietha who responds from this group says that they did not know what to do and had also run out of time due to the bell having gone. Mary learns from their response that they had given it a mark of ten, but had not had enough time to complete all the sections. Mary shows interest in the mark and puts it up on the board. She tries to find out which group they had evaluated. On discovering that it was group C, Mary feels a little disappointed that their evaluation could not be completed. In her opinion, this group had given a good presentation. She goes on to point to one of the two groups left. She learns that the group on the left had watched the B's, who did a play on the musical band. Mary asks only for the mark awarded.

She learns that this group had been given eighteen, which she points out, is good. She adds that this group were good. She briefly mentions that they had lots of action. She then writes the mark on the board. At this point the noise levels go up. Mary shouts at the

class, calling them rude. She requests for them to settle down immediately. She tells them that whenever she put them into groups, they got rowdy. She feels that they are “pushing” her to give them more punishment. She goes on to the last group. After receiving their mark of thirteen, she explains that each person in the group would be getting the same mark. She asks for person in each group to jot down the names of each of the members of the group. She speaks about entering the marks, explaining that those marks would be going towards their term marks. The extract closes with Mary discussing how the order marks will be calculated.

ANALYSIS OF EXTRACT “B”

“Governmentality is a prism that illuminates a particular stratum of enquiry, a perspective that examines, with a historical gaze, governing as a deliberate, purposeful, technicised activity, directed at the subject, the society, or some consciously categorized subdivision of the social body.”

(Doherty, 2007: 196)

DISCONTINUITY

This extract revealed the following trends: a concentration of intersubjective assessment activity particularly at the beginning of the lesson; a thinning out of such activity towards the middle of the lesson and a diminishing appearance towards the latter segments. In the following discussion, a closer view is provided of the power relationships reflected by the distinctive intersubjective trends. The activities in the lesson are discussed first. This is followed by a cross-sectional analysis of the extract.

At the part of the lesson where the intersubjective activity was at its strongest, Mary (the teacher) was found to be in discussion with her learners on the topic of a *feedback* session. She explained that she planned to engage them in discussion on their earlier “peer-activity”. As events progressed towards the middle of the lesson, the intersubjective activity abruptly declined giving way to traditional assessment routines. At that point, Mary was found to be focusing solely on the issue of “marks”. Subsequent events reflected that the intersubjective activity had faded into the background with traditional modes of assessment gaining prominence. Concurrent events in the lesson suggested that the intersubjective *plan* with which Mary set out on, deviated from its course-creating *discontinuity*. The possibility, that this behaviour could have been the result of possible hidden opposing forces of power, is explored below.

As it was noted earlier, the extract opens with Mary pointing out her plans to conduct a “peer-assessment” activity. She explains that prior to that activity; she needed to know whether they had in fact done the task. The question, as captured in frame B1, appears to implicate the learners’ “honesty”:

Right... before we get to that I have some serious questions which you have to be very honest with me about... Okay you must (Emphasis)... be honest with me...

In this brief “slice” of the discourse, we start to get a sense that Mary treats the assessment activity with importance. As she says:

...in any case I warned you guys that the group assessments were important... so if you didn’t do it properly... you are going to get order marks!

Looking further into the activities in the lesson, we are provided with a sense of Mary’s sincere attempt to draw her learners into providing *feedback* to their peers on their earlier “peer-activity”. This idea is conveyed by the following frames:

B15 (Mary): *Right ... now grade 9’s (looking at me at the back of the classroom. Speaking louder than previously)... remember how each group did their plays? While each of you watched the other... then you were supposed to fill in each assessment sheet... each section on that... er... sheet.*

B16 (Mary): *Okay... let’s start there at the back... your group? Lesanne ... give us the um... total out of 20 at the bottom... and then you guys must explain... I mean... one person in each group... must give us explanations as to the... er... um reasons for the mark... what did you give... where’s the leader?*

The above instances suggest an attempt by Mary to involve her learners intersubjectively in the task. She asks them to justify their allocation of marks according to a set of criteria she had provided.

Mary’s approach seems to comply with the suggestions provided in Policy documentation on Assessment (DoE, 2002: 18). It is stated within this document:

...as a teacher involved in assessment you want to find out how your learners are progressing.

It is stated further in the document that teachers could find out their learners' progress using *feedback* techniques (DoE, 2002). There are additional gestures within the extract, which suggest that Mary made a particular effort, to embrace the new intersubjective methodologies. The extract reflects telling examples of where Mary went to lengths, to engage her learners in making responsible judgments about each others' work. For example in frame B16 she is found specifically asking for explanations:

...and then you guys must explain...I mean... one person in each group... must give us explanations as to the... er... um reasons for the mark... what did you give?

Such practices can be tracked in an almost direct manner to guidelines offered in Assessment Policy documentation. For example, under the heading of "Assessment", the Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 (Schools) (RNSC) (DoE, 2002:18) states:

Each Learning Area Statement includes a detailed section on assessment. Within an outcomes-based framework the most suitable assessment methods that accommodate divergent contextual factors are used. Assessment should provide indications of learner achievement in the most effective and efficient manner, and ensure that learners integrate and apply knowledge and skills. Assessment should also help learners to make judgments about their own performance, set goals for progress and provoke further learning.

It could be argued that Mary's approach in this lesson is congruent with that advocated by Policy documents.

There are further links between Mary's teaching strategies, and Assessment Policy documentation. The *National Curriculum Statement Assessment Guidelines for General Education and Training (Intermediate and Senior Phases) Languages* (DoE, 2002: 15) states:

What is the purpose of this assessment task? ...As a teacher one always wants to find out how your learners are progressing and how you could assist them to improve lifelong learning. It is therefore crucial to organize or design an assessment task such that it will eventually afford learners an opportunity to tackle current challenges that are daunting the world at large...

The alignment found between Mary's approach and Policy documentation, gives support to the idea that Mary was willing to fulfil her obligations as an assessor. So far, the impression is created that Mary began her lesson on a strong intersubjective footing. Although it may be argued that there was a clear presence of intersubjective assessment practices in the extract, things subsequently took an unexpected turn, changing the course and character of the assessment rather dramatically.

The following activities in the lesson appeared to trigger the change of course. After determining that only a few learners had completed their tasks, Mary appeared annoyed. This was suggested by her tone of voice, body language and, more particularly, the kinds of questions she asked of the learners. For example, she asks:

I want a few good reasons why the work was not done.... Which of you groups have not completed the assessment tasks? You guys there in the back? You... that group... Ok... by a quick show of hands... I want a few good reasons why the work was not done...

Mary demanded reasons for her learners' incomplete efforts on the task. Events suggest that she issued "order marks" as a form of punishment to groups of learners and individuals for their non-compliance. She also threatened certain learners with "demerits" and other stronger forms of punishment such as the "Saturday detention". As she says:

...seems like there's only two groups... Okay... you guys are getting 2 order marks each... and if you don't complete it and show it to me tomorrow then it goes up hey? It could even become a Saturday detention...

At this point in the analysis, we are faced with a very ironic situation. We find the intersection of two discourses of "marks": one pertaining to the assessment of learning and the other to the School's coding system for non-compliant learner behaviour. We understand that Mary is upset with her learners for not doing their work, and find her issuing of order marks well justified. This study acknowledges that it is an intrinsic part of her role as a teacher, to manage her learners' activities. We get a sense of the importance with which Mary treats the assessment. We are therefore sympathetic to the strict measures adopted by Mary. She remains well-intentioned in our eyes.

With the progression of events in the lesson, the “order-mark” issue has a more visible impact on the course of the assessment. It entered the discourse in a subtle way, gaining momentum and perhaps distorting the course of the assessment activity. As the following events reflect, Mary becomes frustrated by the learners’ attempts to waste time:

Look this is wasting a lot of time... I’ll (Stressing) decide how many... for now lets get on with the assessment tasks... (Teacher notices Jess’s hand go up and stops her short)

I said sshh! Later!

The above events show Mary reprimanding her learners for wasting time. One finds this justified: she needs to progress with the activity and so uses disciplinary devices at her disposal (the demerit system being one of them) to eradicate the apparent disruptive behaviour. So far, Mary remains earnest in her attempts to involve her learners intersubjectively in the activities.

Thus far, the extract indicates that Mary made much effort to develop the learners’ sense of responsibility regarding their own learning. Such trends can again be directly aligned to Assessment Policy guidelines. For example, Point 5.2 of the Assessment Policy, Government Gazette No 19640 (1998), states the following regarding the learner and the learning situation:

Priority needs to be placed on the orientation of learners to the introduction of OBE, specifically to the introduction of an OBE model of assessment. Without the necessary paradigm shift, learners will not be convinced of the necessity to take responsibility for learning, and will therefore not benefit from the efforts of educators to make the necessary changes. Mechanisms, such as comprehensive study and assessment guides, need to be put in place so that learners are empowered to accept responsibility for their own learning. Learners will also need to be equipped with mechanisms that will enable them to manage the changes and the impact of it on their own situation.

One gets that sense that in her use of “order-marks”, Mary was applying a form of gentle pressure to get her learners to assume more “*responsibility for their own learning.*” This is also suggested by the idea that although she handed out demerits, she was open to

negotiation about these. It was also noted that she did later give in to her learners' requests to reduce the number of "order marks" they received. Mary's actions reflected her sensitivity to her learners' plight of embracing a "new" culture of assessment and learning. Her efforts in these early parts of the lesson appeared well intended: they reflected an attempt to "nurture" her learners into the new culture of assessment.

Despite being well intended, the "order mark" discourse seemed to cut across Mary's progress with her lesson. This put a new spin on the character and form of the intersubjective assessment activity, which was underway. As events continued, we found the learners in tough negotiations with Mary over the number of order marks they believed they should receive for having not done the expected tasks. What was conveyed by these interactions is the powerful hold the discourse of the order marks, exercises over the learners. As future discussions show, it significantly changed the course of assessment events. Events in the extract revealed the "order-mark" discourse to be a vital one, meriting a deeper analysis. Further engagement with this issue, is undertaken at a later stage in this analysis.

As mentioned earlier, the decline in intersubjective engagement appeared to coincide with Mary's discovery of her learners' poor engagement with the given tasks. It was evident that the character of the assessment activity immediately changed when Mary gave higher propriety to the "marks" learners awarded each other. The following frames, drawn from later parts of the lesson are illustrative of this point:

B18 (Mary): *No no no no no! That's not what I said... your group's been messing around... Ok leave the explanation... just give us the mark...*

B24 (Mary): *So...you guys don't have a mark either?*

B26 (Learners): *No ma'm... we gave it a mark of 10... but we didn't do all the sections...*

B27 (Mary): *Doesn't matter... let's just put it up here... 10 (writing on board)... and that was for?*

B28 (Learners): *Group c miss...*

B29 (Mary): *Pity cos they had a really nice presentation hey?*

It is apparent, that Mary shows very little interest in learners' explanations of how they had arrived at the marks. It was also noted that no mention was made to any of the criteria, which might have been set out for the task.

One can understand Mary's frustrations with her learners' failure to complete the task, despite her generous allowances of time. One can also understand her need to continue with the next part of her lesson in the face of learners wasting time. While we understand Mary's predicament as a teacher we are also aware of other subtle intersecting issues. The impression was created from other events in the lesson that Mary's emphasis on "grades", went beyond the routine frustration any teacher might experience. The following situation, in which Mary responds to the work group "C" had done, is one such point. Mary acknowledges that the group had a "nice presentation", and puts the group's mark up on the board. It was apparent that Mary did not challenge the assessment awarded by the evaluators. By putting up the mark on the board she suggests that she accepted it, despite the possibility that the mark may not have been a convincing reflection of the group's performance. Later events provide no indication that she conducted investigations on the marks. The idea is conveyed that Mary was not as interested in intersubjective processes of engagement as she might have suggested earlier. She appeared at the later stage to be more interested in the final product or "mark". It could be argued that traditional assessment methods took on a stronger presence in Mary's practices.

This idea gains weight during the remainder of the lesson. Mary's treatment of a "situation" later in the lesson shows her stronger interest in the mark itself than the quality of the feedback:

B31 (Learners): *Miss we watched the B's... they did the play on the musical band...*

B32 (Mary): *Ya... what was the mark?*

B33 (Learners): *We gave them... 18...*

B34 (Mary): *18... gee that's good... but they were good ... Lots of activity with that group... okay lets write that down... eighteen... group... B (writing on board)*

In this situation the impression was conveyed (from the basis of Mary's and the learners' responses), that this particular group performed well. While we might have believed that learners were possibly "messaging around" earlier, it clearly was not the case with this group. It was noted that Mary afforded this particular group no opportunity to explain how they arrived at the mark. She merely recorded the mark (as she explained to me in a discussion after the lesson) and used it as a major part of the "term" mark. If anything, one would assume that she could have used this group's response as a model for the rest of the class. Apparently, Mary's interest was more in the "mark" rather than the quality of the effort. This idea gains momentum with the progression of the lesson.

As events progress in the lesson, the impression was more strongly conveyed that the learners were not quite sure about the dynamics of the activity. In frame B17, they say:

Ma'm... can we choose a leader now... cos we didn't know that we just ... talked about it as a group....

Similar instances of a lack of learner understanding are found in the following frames:

B23 (Learner): *Miss... we didn't know what to do in ours... miss ... cos when the group we were supposed to watch did theirs the bell went....*

B26 (Learner): *No ma'm... we gave it a mark of 10... but we didn't do all the sections...*

Apart from learners being unsure about what exactly they were expected to do, *time* for the task was also apparently limited. This is suggested in frame B10 where a learner says, "...ma'm we finished most of it... but there wasn't time..."

It is apparent that while Mary might have associated the learners' poor understanding with their "messaging around", there were many non-verbal indications which suggest that they may have genuinely been having difficulty. For example, the learners tended to frequently ask members of other groups for clarification of what they should do. A few groups were seen calling Mary over to explain the task to them. One got the impression that learners genuinely had difficulty understanding the dynamics of the task. These

portions of the extract convey the idea that Mary was preoccupied with *marks*. It could be argued that rather than working to formatively close gaps in learners' encounters; Mary was consumed with the end product. Events in the extract so far suggest that the intersubjective assessment practices once in place had later given way almost fully to traditional assessment practices.

A salient point for this analysis was that although Mary's assessment practices reflected a traditional character, she made an obvious attempt to *display* intersubjective elements of assessment. These trends suggest the subtle play of other more powerful forces of power in play. The following situations are a few obvious displays of intersubjective assessment elements. For example, Mary moves very quickly through tasks, regardless of whether learners understand what is required of them or not. Her verbal emphasis of the particular terms used within the new assessment approach, is also noted. In one situation we found Mary eager to display "learner reports" on the board. She wrote things down frantically on the board, even when learners made it known, that they did not understand the material. Although the possibility exists that Mary was preoccupied with the goal of clarifying the new assessment strategies for her learners, there were other more subtle indications which suggest otherwise. It was often found, particularly when an "assessment issue" came up, that Mary would look towards me and speak in a louder tone. For example, she says:

Right ... now grade 9's... (Looking in my direction and speaking louder than previously)

The impression was created that my presence in the room was a factor of influence.

Apart from the effect of my presence in the room, there were subtle indications that other unsuspecting forces of power were also at play. Such possibilities are suggested in frame B38 where Mary says:

...thanks ... for the D group... Ok right fine! (Turning to face the class which has quietened down) *... that's much better... now remember every person in the group gets the same mark... so if one person in each group could please jot down the names of each member of the group... I can enter your marks... now these marks*

will go towards the term marks as I said earlier... Ya and the order marks still stand... those two groups... (Pointing to groups) ...you getting 2 each...

The above interactions between Mary and her learners, suggest her tendency to prioritise marks over learning: she highlights the issue of “marks” in terms of a “term mark”, and the “entry” of marks on a schedule. One got the impression that Mary’s concern with marks had more to do with recording and reporting particularly as suggested by the school and/or departmental policy requirements. It could be argued that certain “external” forces of schooling (accountability) had subtly worked their way into the internal discourses of the classroom. What we had was a situation of a double injustice on learners’ actual performance: they get a group mark from learners who do not know how to mark, and a “mark” that did not fully take heed of the processes of learning.

Up to this point, we have discussed the concerted effort made by Mary to “nurture” her learners into the new culture of assessment. We also bore witness to the frustrations Mary experienced from her learners’ wasting of time. The extract suggests that Mary was caught between conflicting subjectivities: the one of having to incorporate and adjust to new assessment practices herself and another, of dealing with learners’ resistances to the new methodologies with sensitivity, tolerance and the spirit of nurturing. Perhaps another desire was to provide an accurate assessment and yet a further one, of being able to provide rigorous accounts of marks (formatively as well as summatively) to “external” bodies. Perhaps in all of this, what was lost is any sense of genuine assessment.

Several important things were happening in terms of power in this extract. On one level and perhaps in an understated way, the “order marks” issue raised the question of how school governance issues conflict on deeper levels with pedagogical issues. At the same time and in another dimension we saw how other powerful external forces of schooling were working their way into the discourse through the issue of “marks”. One got the sense that, the collision of these concealed forces created discontinuity in the course of learning and assessment in this context. It is perhaps such concealed factors which created pressure on Mary to the point where she became resistant to intersubjective practices. In the face of such concealed pressures, one can understand why Mary’s

attempts to practice intersubjective assessment were frustrated and rejected for traditional methods of assessment. Within traditional frameworks she perhaps felt more secure from having practiced such trends for most of her career. From this view, intersubjective assessment practices could have come across not only as new and foreign, but also demanding in terms of time and engagement. This argument is given further scrutiny below.

CONTINGENCY

Foucault (1997f: 298) did not perceive of power as bad or evil, but rather as something “dangerous” which involves “games of strategy”. He argues that these strategies are “dangerous” because it is very often through such techniques that “*states of domination are established and maintained*” (Foucault, 1997f: 299). Foucault therefore encourages us to study such “games of truth” as “technologies” rather than as “ideas” (Rabinow & Rose, 2003: xxi). As genealogist in this study, I embark on the task of illuminating the concealed constructions or “technologies” which act on Mary’s classroom life. In this endeavour, Foucault’s (1991b) concept of *governmentality* is used as an analytical tool.

Technologies of Domination

To explore the kind of rationality of governing that is constructed in intersubjective assessment practices, the discourses of intersubjective assessment as portrayed in official documents was initially analysed. In this endeavour, focus was specifically given to the contents of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002). The intention behind such an approach was to reveal the kinds of subjects created by the discourse of intersubjective assessment, and the strategies of power that are used to govern subjects.

Within the Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002: 10), an “*Assessment Strategy*” is stated:

...the choice of assessment strategies is subjective and will be unique to each teacher, grade and school, depending on the teacher's professional judgment. Factors such as space and resources available may influence the decision a teacher makes. However, even when resources are similar, teachers may make different choices.

“Guidelines” are then presented to teachers under the section called, “Reports”. Here it states:

“Teachers are expected to create a valid, reliable and credible assessment process, based on the school assessment programme. The school assessment programme must outline clearly:

- the way continuous assessment is planned and implemented*
- how record books are to be kept*
- assessment codes determined by the province*
- internal verification of assessment*
- how moderation takes place in the school*
- the frequency and method of reporting*
- the monitoring of all assessment processes*
- the training of staff in areas of assessment*

Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002: 11)

The document then details the following points, to guide assessment in the classroom:

- At the beginning of each year you will do a baseline assessment to establish prior learning and to assist in planning your year. You may use a record sheet similar to the class list we provide or a record sheet your school assessment programme recommends. We provide an example for one outcome only. You would need to create similar forms for each outcome.*
- During everyday teaching you will be aware of any learners with specific strengths and weaknesses and make notes in your record book of anything you think is particularly significant. In this way you can monitor and support the*

progress of these learners. You may use the example of an observation sheet for informal assessment we provide or whatever record sheets your school assessment programme recommends.

- *If you notice that a specific learner is experiencing a barrier to learning, you should ensure a diagnostic assessment is carried out. This may require the assistance of a specialist. Diagnostic assessment should be followed by guidance, appropriate support and intervention strategies.*
- *Create learner self-assessment and peer-assessment opportunities at appropriate times to encourage learners to reflect on the learning process and assess their own strengths and weaknesses.*
- *At various points in each term you would make sure you do a formative assessment of relevant assessment standards. You will use a variety of assessment strategies such as exercises, tasks and projects to give learners the opportunity to show what they have learned. You will give learners feedback after any formative assessment to help them improve their performance. You may use one activity to assess a number of different assessment standards or you may use several different activities to assess different assessment standards. You could use either of the record sheets provided depending on which is most suitable for how you choose to assess, or you will use the record sheets your school assessment programme recommends. You can then use the codes your province has determined to record feedback from each learner's assessment.*
- *Towards the end of each term you will need to conduct a summative assessment. This will provide an overall picture of each learner's progress at a given time. You will need to plan summative assessment carefully at the beginning of each year and make sure you include a variety of assessment strategies such as exercises, projects, school and class tests which give learners an opportunity to show what they have learned. As is the case with formative assessment, you may use one activity to assess a number of different assessment standards or you may use several different activities to assess different assessment standards.*
- *You should report learner progress to parents on a regular basis. This may include written reports, oral or practical presentations, displays of learners' work*

and exhibitions. The Revised NCS states that teachers must also report at the end of each term using formal report cards. Your school assessment programme will decide on the format of these report cards.

- *At the end of the year, you will complete progression schedules and learner profiles using they format your school assessment programme recommends.*
- *Decisions will be made at a national, provincial, district or cluster level on common tasks for assessment that you may need to conduct in your classroom for external moderation. You will be informed of these decisions.*
- *Participants for systemic assessment are decided at a national or provincial level and you will be informed if your learners are involved* Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002:10-11)

A careful scrutiny of the item, “Assessment Strategy” (DoE, 2002: 10) reflects the use of words such as “*subjective*”, “*teacher’s professional judgment*” and “*different choices*”. Such vocabulary conveys a heightened sense of teacher autonomy within the new assessment framework. While it would seem that teachers are given substantial freedom and control of their intersubjective assessment practices, the document contrarily suggests that the actual “freedom” teachers have is minimal or perhaps non-existent. This point is elaborated below.

Excerpts from the Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002), suggest a conspicuous attention to detail. The document specifies when each type of assessment should be carried out and its purpose at each point in time. It defines the type of assessment in the following forms: “*baseline, diagnostic, formative and summative assessments*” (DoE, 2002: 9). It discusses the function and purpose of each form of assessment in detail. For example, in terms of *baseline assessment* the document states:

At the beginning of each year you will do a baseline assessment to establish prior learning and to assist in planning your year (DoE, 2002: 12).

The document also provides details regarding the recording of marks. The excerpt below provides an example of how the outcomes should be treated:

You may use a record sheet similar to the class list we provide or a record sheet your school assessment programme recommends. We provide an example for one outcome only. You would need to create similar forms for each outcome (DoE, 2002: 12).

Aspects of the document, such as the following, are dedicated to discussing day-to-day features of assessment teachers should be made aware of:

During everyday teaching you will be aware of any learners with specific strengths and weaknesses and make notes in your record book of anything you think is particularly significant (DoE, 2002: 12).

These notes, as indicated in the document, serve to “*monitor the progress of learners*” (DoE, 2002: 12). Further on, an example is provided of “*an observation sheet for informal assessment*” (DoE, 2002: 12). It points out that “*learner self-assessment and peer-assessment opportunities*” need to be created by the teacher “*at appropriate times*” (DoE, 2002: 12). Reasons are provided for the various techniques of assessment. At further points the document goes on to stipulate when and how the teacher should use formative assessment techniques and the quality of feedback that should follow this process:

You will use a variety of assessment strategies such as exercises, tasks and projects to give learners the opportunity to show what they have learned. You will give learners feedback after any formative assessment to help them improve their performance (DoE, 2002: 12).

The Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002: 12) explains in-depth how activities may be used, as in for example, to “*assess different assessment standards*”. Recording and reporting guidelines are also laid out as in the following:

You can then use the codes your province has determined to record feedback from each learner's assessment.

Details are also spelt out on the reporting of “*learner progress to parents*”. Specific guidelines are provided of when and how reporting should be done and the channel to be used for the assessment (for example, “*formal report cards*” and “*progression schedules*”).

and learner profiles”). The document concludes with points on how the “*national, provincial, district or cluster level on common tasks for assessment factors*” fit into the scheme for assessment (DoE, 2002:12). The above characteristics suggest that the document is very explicit about issues such as the sequencing, time frames, techniques, features, aspects and elements of intersubjective assessment practice.

One appreciates the attempts made by policy makers to explicate the practice of intersubjective assessment for South African teachers. By being specific and giving attention to detail, it reduces the possibilities of ambiguity, vagueness and uncertainty-factors which may work to reduce the effective implementation of intersubjective assessment. Such explicitness can be seen to work positively to reducing possible anxiety in teachers’ encounters with new and unfamiliar practices. Although the attempts by departmental professionals to guide teachers in their new experience with assessment can be commended, one also gets the sense that the Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002) presents a discourse that may be riddled with conflict, tensions, concealments and contradictions. The second and third points of the “Assessment Guidelines” are exemplary of this idea, stating:

You would make sure you do a formative assessment of relevant assessment standards...You will give learners feedback after any formative assessment to help them improve their performance...You will use a variety of assessment strategies such as exercises (DoE, 2002: 13).

There is an implicit suggestion in the above excerpt of the tone of the document being overbearing, authoritarian and dictatorial. Language issues such as the repetitive use of words such as “*you will*” and “*you would make sure you do*”, “*teachers must*” give weight to the idea that the document is underpinned by an intent to control. The character of the document also comes across as dogmatic: the intersubjective techniques, formats and reports to be used by teachers are rigidly defined leaving very little room for teacher choice or voice.

We get the sense from the language, tone and character of the document, that rather than being guided through the new assessment practices in an open and autonomous

environment, teachers are actually instructed in closed-ended or non-negotiable ways of when, where and how to carry out assessment. It appears that the document bears a strong contradiction: the opening statements of the document suggest a consideration of the individuality and “subjectivity” of the teacher in the new assessment experience, yet the information is conveyed in rigid, inflexible and objective ways. One gets the impression that the teacher “subjectivities” and “uniqueness” are actually given no consideration. It is as though the language of the document conveys a “double-speak”: it speaks in overt ways of considering *teachers’ personal circumstances*, yet contradicts this aim by putting covert pressure on teachers through concealed strategies such as setting high expectations, applying tough time-frames and enforcing stringent demands.

Within the document one finds discourses which are focused on teachers’ recording of marks. The earlier parts of the document speak about the teachers’ informal evaluations. The latter four points refer teachers’ need to collate sets of marks, record and report these according to prescribed schedules for external purposes. These parts of the document suggest the strong macro-level involvement in the process of intersubjective assessment. The following excerpt which speaks of external moderation of marks is exemplary of this idea:

Decisions will be made at a national, provincial, district or cluster level on common tasks for assessment that you may need to conduct in your classroom for external moderation. You will be informed of these decisions. Participants for systemic assessment are decided at a national or provincial level and you will be informed if your learners are involved (DoE, 2002: 13).

The idea that the marks will be externally moderated suggests a form of external “control” or accountability by the teacher.

In the light of this insight, we can perhaps understand why Mary was so intent on collecting and recording learners’ marks. It would seem that there is a form of pressure posed by the discourses within the Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002). One is given to understand why Mary goes to such lengths to “show” that she is engaging in the new assessment methods and techniques. Her verbal and non-verbal “displays”

could have been put up for the benefit of audiences such as the principal, head of department, or me. Perhaps it is the pressure to conform that perhaps leads to Mary's putting up of appearances. She finds it necessary to create the impression that she is doing her job in the way that is "expected"- therefore she conforms. Dean (1999) who elaborates on Foucault's concept of "governmentality" speaks of individuals who conduct themselves in "appropriate" and "desirable" ways to gain acceptance and approval from governing bodies. His argument is that people play by the rules in most cases. Although they might be inwardly critical of the tactics of governance, they very seldom openly contest the motives or purpose of the governing force. The point Dean highlights, is that obligatory kinds of relationships exist in most facets of everyday life. Dean's (1999) point brings to the fore the extent to which the teacher in this study might be regarded as playing the rules to receive professional status.

The above discussion provides a perspective of how teachers' identities could be constituted by macro-forces. In other words, they show how teachers are constituted as agents who enact the state's policies of governance. We see in existence, "games of strategy" utilized by the State to make teachers "govern themselves". It would appear that the forces of governing are channelled strategically through the discourse of the various Policy documents. Whilst the impression is created that teachers are in control of their own lives, there is the existence of a concealed strategy by the state to control teachers. It is suggested that the State's Assessment Policies in South Africa (such as the Revised National Curriculum Statement, DoE, 2002) employ strategies of classification and objectification to normalize teachers. These technologies work to create teacher subjectivities of useful and docile citizens. These discourses seem to bear undercurrents which are in Foucauldian terms "dangerous" in the sense that they are deeply concealed within the discourse, completely invisible to the discerning eye, and also constructed as neutral (Foucault, 1991b).

Technologies of the Self

An earlier idea revealed by the analysis was that the learners were highly compliant with the School's Code of Conduct. We saw them in interactions where they negotiated toughly with Mary around the terms of their discipline. While there were moments when learners showed concerns about their order marks, these centred more on the amount they would receive rather than their rejection of the system. Events in the extract suggested that the learners displayed a trustful and unconditioned obedience to the school's code of conduct. This situation leaves us with an interesting question of how the school's "demerit system/ order mark program", works to instil learner compliance and responsibility. A closer look at the School's *Code of Conduct* document sheds light on several issues.

The school's Mission Statement (generally known as *the Code*) conveys the following information:

Embracing the values of justice and truth, we aim to prepare learners for a balanced approach to life and its problems.

We strive to educate for life in a changing society, encouraging learners to have reverence for the world and its people.

It reflects well-intentioned goals of preparing learners not only to adequately deal with change, but also to instil a sense of love and care for people. One can understand why the school's *Code of Conduct* is not rejected by the learners: The schools mission reflects an array of noble objectives which are in line with the goals of a changing, democratic society. However, on careful scrutiny of the document, one finds the presence of strong contradictions and concealed technologies, implying a different set of intentions by the school. This point is elaborated below.

In a section, which is headed "*The School Rules*" (Code of Conduct: page 2) we note the wide range of aspects covered:

The School Day; Classroom behaviour; Assemblies; Tuck Shop; Absenteeism; Bounds; Motor Vehicles; Miscellaneous; Library Books; Cell Phones;

Appearance; School Uniform; Exception to Uniform Policy; Hair; General Behaviour; Coexistence, Interpersonal relationships; Sports and Extra-Curricular Activities and The School's Internet System.

One cannot fault any of the above measures adopted by the school to maintain discipline. In a productive way, the school uses the *Code* as a means to ensure its smooth and efficient running. What is implicitly conveyed, is the type of control the school adopts, and more so, the totality of its control. It would appear that the *Code* has “covered” every minute aspect of school life in terms of what learners may and may not do. One gets the sense that learners have no option but to comply. Perhaps it is the range or scope of the control that makes it effective in this case.

The sequencing pattern of the *Code* is another interesting point of analysis. If we look closely at the latter half of the contents we note that these points deal very specifically with “*Discipline Procedures*”. It starts with a section on “*Detention Systems*” in which it elaborates details on “*Friday Detention*”, “*Midweek detention*” and “*Saturday Detention*”. At a further point it elaborates on the issue of “*Internal Suspension*”. Similarly, the “*Suspension mark System*” is given detail. Two new points follow these: “*Policy for Disciplinary hearings*” and finally a “*Guide to allocating Suspension Marks*”. The order of these disciplinary features is salient: it reflects a strategic arrangement of punishment which works to engage learners in their own discipline. It starts from a less serious offence and builds up to the maximum form of punishment that can be meted out to any learner. The “build up” of points, suggests a heightening of tension and imposes a sense of importance on the latter disciplinary procedures. For example, order marks are collated weekly and are accumulative. Once a learner reaches six order marks he/she sits in detention on a Friday afternoon for at least an hour and a half. In a positive way, the hierarchy of points may serve to deter learners from further misdemeanours, and so work to eradicate bad behaviour. In an unsuspecting and perhaps more “dangerous” way, the build up creates fear and tension to the point that learners become fixated about it. The sequencing thus creates a scenario, where learners become entangled in a system of control.

We find that the language of the document is also instrumental in instilling compliance in learners. Perhaps this is because the school's *Code of Conduct* is constituted by a discourse which is officious and bureaucratic. For example, in section 16.2, the heading "LEGAL AUTHORITY", is presented as a sub-section of the school's disciplinary code:

In terms of the South African School's Act, Act 84 of 1996, the Governing Body of this school must adopt a code of conduct for learners after consultation with the following parties, namely the parents, educators and learners attending C High.

Also important to note is that the Act, Section B (4) states that 'nothing contained in this Act exempts a learner from the obligation to comply with the code of Conduct of the school that is attended by such a learner.

The use of the words "legal" and "authority" in this part of the document create a sense of importance around the document. Such language is inclined to evoke a certain "respect for authority" from the learners. In addition, the use of language such as "this school must" introduces a form of pressure, coercion and compulsion to comply with its rules. One finds oneself in a situation where one has no choice but comply. The strong use of negatives in the language is also significant. For example, the document states that "*no one*" is exempted from its code. Further in the document it states: "*Nothing shall exempt a learner from complying with the code of the school.*" One gets the sense that learners have no choice but to act in accordance with the code. The negatives appear to work in conjunction with the totality of its effect. As it appears, there is no way out.

The ordering of the system, particularly in terms of its sequencing, pacing and compounding risks, creates a situation where learners are able to negotiate their way into certain "safe" positions. We see evidence of this in the following frames:

B4 (Learner): *So miss ... how many ... cos like ...I already have 4 ... cos of not doing our project and it like ... wasn't our fault but Miss Kajee gave them anyway...*

B5 (Teacher): *Look this is wasting a lot of time... I'll (Stressing) decide how many... for now lets get on with the assessment tasks...*

(A hand goes up. Learner tries to talk but is stopped short)

I said sshh! Later!

B6 (Teacher): (When another hand goes up)...yes Raynard?

B7 (Raynard): *Ma'm... can we please get only 2?*

We gather from these interactions that the learners do not resist the school's order mark system, but negotiate with the teacher around the number they receive to maintain "safe" positions. In a subtle and concealed way, the document works to create situations where learners monitor their own "safety" -hence they govern themselves.

The document in question appears to go to lengths to engage learners in their own discipline. It develops an awareness of stringent measures to ensure an "awareness" of its rules and principles. Such a strategy is evident on page 24 of the *Code*. The form opens by specifying that it is addressed to "All learners". Although this is a form which is used for the Internet services offered by the school, we note that it is also used dually to acknowledge receipt of the Code of Conduct. At the base of this form, it is boldly stated:

This form also serves as an acknowledgement of receipt of the School's Code of Conduct.

Apart from the learners' acknowledgement, the form requests a counter signature by the parent (on the same page of the document, it is noted the parent has to also sign). We see how, in a subtle and perhaps neutral way, the parents' role is centralized in the processes of the disciplining of learners. A copy of the form is presented below.

RESPONSIBLE INTERNET USE.

Please complete, sign and return to your class teacher.

Name of Pupil: _____

Grade _____

Pupil's agreement:

I have read and I understand the ICT system Code of Conduct. I will use the computer system and Internet facilities in a responsible way and obey theses rules and those appearing in the Computer rooms and resource centre at all times.

Signed. _____

Date: _____

Parents Consent for Internet access.

I have read and understand the school rules pertaining to the ICT system and give permission for my son/daughter to access the Internet.
I also understand and accept that the school will take all reasonable precautions to ensure that pupils can not access inappropriate materials.

I understand and accept that the school cannot be held responsible for the nature or content of the material accessed through the Internet.

I agree that the school is not liable for any damages arising from the use of the Internet facility.

Name of Parent: (Please print your name) _____

Signed: _____

Date. _____

Insert: "C" High School Code of Conduct, p. 24.

It would appear that an "awareness" of the principles of the *Code* does work positively to ensuring learners' self-discipline. We find learners going to lengths to prevent their points accumulating to risky positions. Frame B4 depicts such a situation. In this part of the lesson we encounter a learner who has an existing 4 points because of his prior misdemeanours. He sees the "4" as safe because (in terms of the document) he is likely to receive less severe forms of detention such as that on a "Friday" or a "Saturday". This learner's receipt of two or more order marks, as suggested by the following excerpts from the document, could push him into a "Friday detention" slot - a far more risky situation. On page 16 of the "Code", the following is stated under different points:

Once a learner has accumulated 6 order marks, he/she sits detention on a Friday afternoon directly after school for at least one and a half hour.

Parents are notified of their child's detention by letter which is brought home by their child. The letter must be signed by the parent and returned on the Friday by the learner when he/she sits detention.

Friday detention takes priority over other activities.

Perhaps one risky situation for the learners mentioned above, is that his parents would need to be informed about his behaviour. This might lead to him giving up his extra-curricular activities in order to honour his detention. In this case however, the learner has already earned himself a “Friday” detention and was perhaps trying to avoid getting a “Saturday” detention – a type of punishment reserved for the “working off” of excessive order marks. Point 15.1.3.1 of the *Code*, states the following with regard to “Saturday Detention”:

This form of detention is for habitual offenders to work off excessive order marks or as an additional form of punishment to be used at the discretion of the Senior Management of the School.

Perhaps the learner sees the risks as greater, with a Saturday detention and so negotiates with Mary to remain with a “6”.

The above scenario conveys the idea of the school’s code of conduct working positively in that the learners *are* engaging in their own discipline and monitoring their behaviour in positive ways. At the same time we also get the impression that the *Code* goes further to developing a certain hold over the learners. To support this argument, reference is made below to page three of the “Code” where we encounter an overt statement of its aims:

This Code of Conduct (hereafter referred to as the Code) aims to ensure an environment wherein meaningful education can take place at [“C”] High; it seeks to promote positive discipline, self-discipline and exemplary conduct as learners learn by observation and experience. Nothing shall exempt a learner from complying with the Code of the school.

While the State has the obligation to make education available and accessible, this must be complemented by the commitment and acceptance of responsibility by the other partners in education, inter alia, learners, educators and parents.

The words, “Nothing shall exempt a learner from complying with the Code of the school”, suggest a hold over the learners’ which ensures their absolute compliance. One could conceive of this as controlling to the point of possible entrapment.

One gets the sense that the School's order mark system serves as the *instrument* through which the subjectivity of the learner is created on a micro level. The desired subjectivity is seen to be that of a self-regulating, conforming individual. At the same time we are cognizant (from explicit statements in the text), that the school's policy is a result of a directive of the SA School's Act 84 of 1996. The implication is that the subjectivity of learners is indirectly suggested by the State. Thus, in understated ways, the learners are intensely ensnared in the matrix of governance constituted by the school's code of conduct, in combination with the educational policies of the state. The social regulation externally imposed on the learners through techniques of governance by the school and other entities, works to engage individuals in self-management.

EMERGENCE

This analysis followed the advice of several writers in the Foucauldian tradition and used Governmentality both as a concept and a tool to explore the power relations inherent to the extract. Agreement is found with Doherty in *Why Foucault* (2007: 196) that the Foucauldian concept of governmentality serves as an effective "prism" to illustrate governing as:

...a deliberate, purposeful, technicised activity, directed at the subject, the society, or some consciously categorized subdivision of the social body.

The two perspectives offered by Foucault (1978), "*technologies of domination*" and "*technologies of the self*", usefully showed how embedded forms of authorization in the discourses of the extract subjectivised Mary and her learners. In looking to "*the accidents*" that may have created the current truths in the extract, an almost "head-to-head" clash was encountered. This was found to exist on multiple levels of the political forces of the self and governance. Thus, in what constituted a matrix of power plays, the extract suggested the intersection of macro and micro forces of governance.

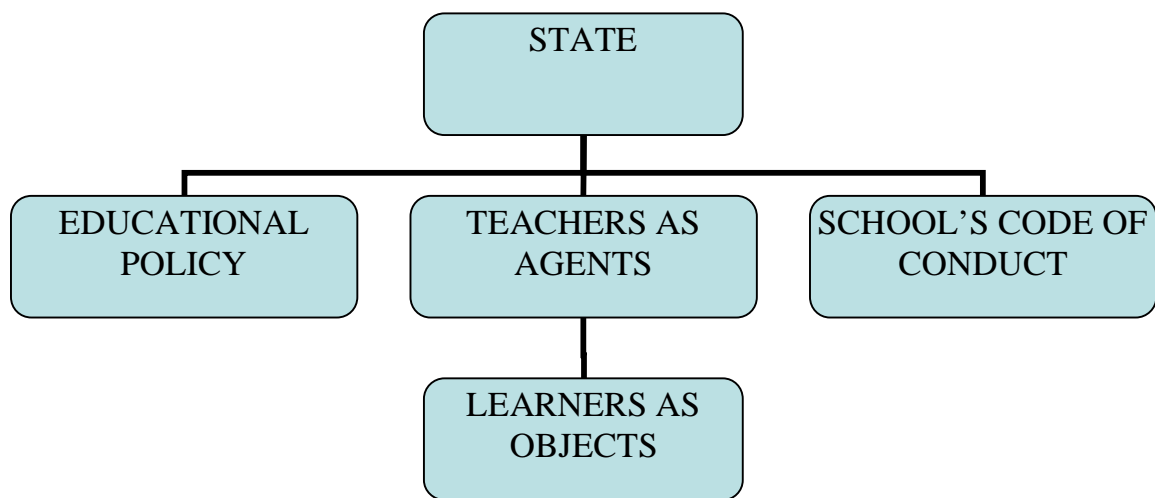
Mary's resistance to intersubjective practices could be linked to macro- factors. In earlier discussions, focus was given to the concerted effort made by Mary to "nurture" her learners into the new culture of assessment. We bore witness to the frustrations Mary

experienced from her learners' poor responses to her intersubjective strategies. The impression was created that Mary was caught between conflicting subjectivities: perhaps the one of having to incorporate and adjust to new assessment practices herself, another of dealing with learners' resistances to the new methodologies with sensitivity, tolerance and the spirit of nurturing and furthermore, that of being able to provide rigorous accounts or schedules of marks formatively as well as summatively. In the face of this host of conflicting forces, one can understand that Mary's attempts to practice intersubjective assessment might have been frustrated and therefore rejected for traditional methods of assessment. Perhaps she felt more secure in using traditional methods - having practiced and experienced such trends in the past. Intersubjective assessment practices on the other hand might have come across not only as new and foreign, but demanding in terms of time and engagement. It is apparent thus, that macro-factors may have pressurised Mary into resisting intersubjective assessment practices.

On the micro-level, the discourse of the extract, casted learners as the objects of the power at play in the model of the school's "order mark system". The extract reflected that the learners' roles in the "system of conduct" went beyond their being only recipients of demerits: it pointed to the role they adopted as self-governors and monitors of their own discipline. What was revealed was the idea of technologies of self- a situation characterised by learners' obedient behaviour and their attempts to govern themselves. Intersecting with these points, on a macro level, it was clear to see how teachers were constituted as agents who enacted the state's policies of governance. This juncture of activity in the lesson existed within an environment of extreme conflict and tension, complicated by the contingent, the unexpected, and continually moved out of balance by the impact of the discursive struggles within it. An attempt is made to capture this matrix of relationships in the following illustration:

MATRIX OF GOVERNMENTALITY

TECHNOLOGIES OF DOMINATION



TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF

The above illustration conveys the idea of power existing within a matrix of relationships, within the extract. This suggests that power does work in the ways Foucault writes about, in his works on “governmentality”. In agreement with Doherty (2007: 196), the central labour around which the matrix forms in this lesson is directed toward the “*constitution of the self, the configuration of the subject under the action of government.*” The analysis showed agreement with Foucault, that governmentality strategically assumed a variety of faces. At times it was direct and overt, at others subtle, invisible and dangerous. It was also found, that all of the forms of power existent in the lesson, were directly concerned with the outcome of conformity.

The work of Feges (2006) is particularly insightful in explicating why individuals such as Mary and her learners conform to the forms of governance. Using the ideas proposed by Rose (1996, 1999), Feges shows how, the present type of governing differs from the earlier more objective approach. He explains that the dominant mentality of rule which informs the mechanisms of government in current Western democracies is *Neo-liberalism*. He sees *Neo-Liberalism* as a political rationality which combines classical liberal ideas and a new set of ideals based on the factors of autonomy and choice (Galvin, 2002: 118, cited in Feges, 2006). Feges (2006) explains how the *liberal* method of governing during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was rejected for the ‘social’ form of governing. This form of governing involved the state’s assumption of a central position, from which it governed society. It was regarded as a social state because it governed the lives of individuals from a distance. Mid-way the twentieth century, this mode of governance was questioned and rejected. *Neo-liberalism* emerged as the new form of governance, re-envisioning and reconceptualising the idea of freedom. It was depicted as a form of liberalism which did not govern through society as before, but through the individuals’ choices as a citizen. Foucault (1991b) depicts this form of governance as, “*the conduct of conduct*.”

Hultqvist & Petersson (1995), who are cited in Feges (2006: 25), depict members of society within this form of governance “*as autonomous and active individuals who seek self-realization in the name of freedom*”. They cite Burchell’s (1996: 29-30) following views on the matter:

...neo-liberalism constructs a relationship between government and the governed that increasingly depends upon ways in which individuals are required to assume the status of being the subjects of their lives, upon the ways in which they fashion themselves as certain kinds of subjects, upon the ways they practice their freedom.

The above authors’ point is that neo-liberalism uses the idea of freedom as a strategy to create self-directed governance. The idea embodied in this theory, is to allow individuals to choose their own courses in society and be responsible about their choices. Rose (1999a: 61) writes about governmentality as follows:

As the twenty first Century begins the ethics of freedom have come to underpin our conceptions of how we should be ruled, how our practices of everyday life should be organised, how we should understand ourselves and our predicament.

Rose depicts governmentality as power which operates through strategies and devices that uphold freedom.

This extract bore testimony to the ideas on governmentality suggested by Foucault (1991b), Dean (1999) and Rose (1999a). There was the strong sense that the freedom of the individuals was a principal goal, yet the “double-speak” in which the documents were couched, suggested the concealed presence of powerful controlling forces. One can see how a form of governing from a distance is exercised on the individual: one makes ones own decisions and it appears as though no one tells one what to do. Perhaps there is no escape from such a situation.

A REFLECTION ON EXTRACT “B”

Foucault (1991b) argues that governmentality has affected all of us and we may not be as free or autonomous as the liberal system suggests we are. This extract is illustrative of this idea: individuals in this extract conveyed the distinct impression that they had been constituted by other persons, by official policies and by what Foucault (1977) perceives as, “power/knowledge”.

EXTRACT "C"
REGIMES OF SELF

NARRATIVE OF EXTRACT “C”

The extract opens with Jill informing her learners that they would be moving on to a section on the folktale, which they would need to know for the exams. She reminds them about the examples they had done on this work in a previous lesson. She talks about what was put into stories. She reminds them that they wrote up folktales for their portfolios. She speaks about the story of “the boy who cried wolf”. Drawing out details of the story, she revises some of the elements of the “folktale”.

Jill then refers to details of the story of the boy who cried wolf. She points out that somewhere within this story there is an idea they need to remember. She illustrates how stories use animals as characters. She says that these stories were told in a way that the children or adults would learn a lesson. Having reminded them of these elements, she speaks of the story they had done together. After much prompting, she receives the response about the “dassie” she had been waiting for. She goes into details about the story, highlighting what that it was aimed at teaching. She asks the class what the moral of the lesson was and they respond with the idea, “Don’t be lazy”.

Jill discusses this moral of the story stressing how folktales used to be made up so that a lesson could be taught. While speaking, she writes down points on the board. Learners write down things that she writes on the board. A learner tells her that she is blocking her view of the board. She apologizes and moves out of their view. At this point there is a bit of noise coming from a group of learners. She goes back to a further point about the topic, the fairytales. She explains that, in terms of folktales, it was not going to be the same story each time. She notices that the class was getting noisier. She tells them that the work she was currently doing would be going into their portfolios for marks for their term-marks. The learners’ cooperation improves. Jill continues the earlier idea of the “dassie”. She reminds them that the structure of the story stays the same except that it has certain adaptations. The learners continue to write in their books. She summarizes the earlier discussion, stating that the structure of the story could be changed slightly -

with different characters and a different plot, but the same morals. Learners continue to write.

Jill informs her learners that she would be going to go through the ideas again. Learners complain. She reprimands a learner for having “attitude”. She reminds him that the section is important. She immediately picks up the thread of her earlier discussion. One of the points she notes is that a myth includes Gods and Goddesses. Learners continue to write. She goes on that it could include creations. At this point she is interrupted by disruptive behaviour coming from the back of the classroom. She reprimands the boys at the back for their “rude” behaviour. She decides to go through that structure once more. She explains that they could draw at the bottom of their grid. At this point not all of the learners are writing.

Jill revises earlier points going back to the beginning of the creation myths. A learner asks a question which is inaudible. She points out that she would cover that aspect in her “prac” lesson. She goes back to the different elements of creation myths. She speaks of there being nothing and then in the middle, things were created. She asks learners to copy this down. A learner asks where on the grid it should be copied down. Her reply is that it should go at the bottom. A bit of noise follows this discussion. Jill questions James about an issue. The class gets quieter. This is followed by a period of note-taking.

Jill subsequently goes through a few examples. During this activity she notices apparent disruptive behaviour. She reprimands the learners concerned and goes back to her discussion on the myth. She notices that Steven has walked out of his place to the waste basket. She scolds Steven for holding up the whole class and tells him to come to see her later. Jill gets back to her lesson on Legends. She states that if they were asked a question like that in the exam, they should write her a folktale including all of its characteristics. She asks them to remember the differences between these ideas.

Jill then moves on to a new activity. She tells them to move to the other side of the page where they have the heading group-work. She repeats the word “group-work” several

times. She asks if they could tell her what have they have learnt most about group-work. She asks further what they have and have not enjoyed. The first response from a learner is that there is Communication. She asks them to write this down under the heading group-work.

Another response that emerges is that “one needs to listen to everyone else’ ideas”. Michel adds that there is a need to rely on each other. Jill sees this as dependability where everyone must participate. Participation comes across as the next point. She goes back to dependency at this point and illustrates this with an example of previous group work where a few learners forgot their “props” and the whole which was group was depending on them could not participate. She explains how the whole group fell apart. She notes how in group work every single member is reliant on the other. When Jill asks the class if there was anything else about group-work they did, they point out that they had split up the tasks as a fairer system. They explain that they did this so that no one person became over loaded. She finds a group that was not contributing to the discussion and asks what their group did not enjoy.

They inform her that there was fighting and disagreements. Jill draws this into the lesson stating that there was bound to be different ideas when people worked together. She states that it is important to come to a balance or a solution. At this point she stops and asks learners to stop messing around. She picks up the thread of the group-work stating that they would need to work through these differences and come to an agreement. A learner points out the difficulty of a situation where one person does everything, or takes over. The lesson ends with the sound of the bell.

ANALYSIS OF EXTRACT “C”

“The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle.”

(Foucault, 1980c: 98)

Foucault (1980a: 118) argued that power produces knowledge. He is quoted below justifying this point:

Between techniques of knowledge and strategies of power there is no exteriority even if they have specific roles and are linked together on the basis of their difference (Foucault, 1978: 99).

Relations of power-knowledge are not static forms of distribution, they are 'matrices of transformations' (Foucault, 1978: 99).

He conveys the idea that power and knowledge cannot be seen as separate. In this extract there was evidence of power functioning in the way Foucault projects: events show that power produces knowledge. This knowledge was found to be co-implicated in the creation of subjectivities, kinds of thought, and epistemological limits. An attempt is made here to unveil some of these subjectivities and explore how, through the work of power, these thoughts arose, took shape and gained importance. This analysis therefore works towards tracing the “acute manifestations” and “particular rituals” of power (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 119).

Foucault’s (1972) writings suggest that an analysis of power could be undertaken by looking to the *discursive formations* within a site. Following Foucault, this extract was scrutinized revealing two possible “formations”- one of a unified history of the discourses and another, a different kind of history, one that is disruptive and resists the search for

fundamental truths. Each of these formations is discussed below. The purpose of such an approach is to attend to ideas and knowledges that have been brought into play in a “seamless” way, and then to conduct a genealogical unpicking of the seams to show “other” stories. Foucault (1977: 142) writes about the importance of the alternative stories stating:

If the genealogist refuses to extend his faith in metaphysics, if he listens to history, he finds that there is ‘something altogether different’ behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms.

Foucault (1977) brings to the fore the importance of “other” stories. This study sees “other” stories as salient to its goals of illuminating the power in intersubjective assessment practices. It therefore attempts (below) to unearth a totally different story to that presented on the surface.

A CASE FOR UNITY

In this extract Jill, the teacher, carries out several activities. The first is a *revision task*, which is followed by a *group-work* one where the learners evaluate their earlier group-working experiences. During these activities, brief mention is made to the learner *Portfolio*. Despite a small degree of inattentiveness shown by certain learners, events suggested that Jill made a determined effort to create a positive teaching and learning atmosphere in her classroom. She employed a style of teaching which ensured that the learners were maintained on task. In terms of the second task, Jill indicated a defined purpose and structure which implied that she had a plan.

Throughout these activities Jill encouraged learning while maintaining discipline sensitively. Her technique of questioning enabled her to gauge her learners’ levels of learning and understanding of the lesson material. Her clarification of points, where it was deemed necessary, was supportive of learners’ progress. There were many traits of Jill’s practice which were indicative of good educational practice. As is apparent, a

unified account of the extract produced knowledge of the lesson as constructive and relatively successful. At the same time, we learn from other perspectives, such as the case for disunity presented below, that the lesson far more complex than it seemed.

A CASE FOR DISUNITY

On the basis of Foucault's (1997) principle of "discontinuity", we understand that power operates in a range of directions and that some discourses stand in hostile opposition to other discourses. In these terms, a situation may result in some discourses becoming starting points for oppositional discourses from individuals or groups. Accordingly, Foucault writes the following, in Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982: 106):

Genealogy seeks out discontinuities where others found continuous development.

It finds recurrences and play where others have found progress and seriousness.

His point is that we should seek out possible loopholes in stories of coherence. In an attempt to follow his advice, a careful scrutiny was given to the earlier "coherent" picture. Through a different lens, the groups of statements inherent to the extract were found to create a formation which suggested a "splitting" of the lesson into three parts. While these distinct *parts* do reflect aspects of good teaching and certain measures of success, they suggest (in subtle and understated ways), the existence of concealed forces which create disunity in the lesson.

To illuminate the power interplays in the lesson, a metaphorical tool is adopted from geology. This strategy is in keeping with Foucault's genealogical use of metaphors. The following quotation is exemplary of such a trend in Foucault's (1977b: 121) work:

It is absolutely insufficient to repeat empty slogans: the author has disappeared; God and man dies a common death. Rather, we should re-examine the empty space left by the author's disappearance; we should attentively observe, along its gaps and fault lines, its new demarcations, and the reapportionment of this void; we should await the fluid functions released by this disappearance.

In analyzing the extract, Foucault's above metaphor of "fault lines" was used to illuminate the forms and pathways of power. Geologically, a "fault line" is a rock fracture or deformation that develops on the earth's surface as a result of the relative movement of segments of its crust (tectonic plates). It is generally characterized by volcanic and seismic activity around its margins. Applying such a metaphor to this extract held promise of proving a perspective of the "relative movements" or "hazardous interplays" of the hidden oppositional discourses (tectonic plates). These discourses were seen as important because, in Foucault's (1997b) view, they could have produced "fault lines" in the educational plane of teaching and learning.

DISCONTINUITY

In an attempt to illuminate the possible power plays responsible for the apparent "fault lines" in Jill's teaching, further scrutiny is given to the "movements" of the submerged discourses of the extract. The three activities highlighted by the review of the lesson: the revision activity, the portfolio activity and c) the group-work activity are discussed below.

a) The Revision Activity

Events around the revision activity suggested that Jill saw the examination as a target to work towards. As she says:

Ok... now we're moving on to a very important section for the exams...

Jill speaks of the "exams" throughout the first part of the extract. She mentions this again towards the middle of the text in frame C23:

...so if you are asked a question like this in the exam....If I say to you in the exam.

She makes a third reference (frame C76), towards the latter portion of the text saying:

I said this section is important for exams...

These instances convey the idea that Jill prepared her learners for the examination. There were further situations which suggested that Jill was preparing her learners for the

examination. In frame C21 below, Jill is found repeating information about the examination. She says:

...Ok so let's go through them again while you're writing...

A few minutes later (in C27) she says:

"Ok let me go through that structure once more for you.

At a much later period, such as in frame C54, Jill again expresses the need to repeat the work by "[going] through it again with some examples." Jill's tendency of repeating conveys the idea that she was reinforcing learning for the exams.

In further instances, such as in frame C76 below, Jill is found to be tailoring learners' responses to potential examination questions. She says:

So if you are asked a question like this in the exam... If I say to you in the exam... please write me a folktale including all of its characteristics... you will go... Ok a folktale includes characters mainly animals which teach you a lesson... so... I need... What do I need to do? I need to write a story which teaches us a lesson...and include animals as characters... Ok it says write a myth... so you know you got to include Gods and goddesses, include creation... you can include about forces of nature... about storms...

Jill's use of statements such as, "What do I need to do?" and "so you know you got to include..." suggest her tailoring answers to potential examination questions. In these situations Jill requests that learners "write down" information. In some cases she requests that they write down *her* interpretation of the answer. The following excerpt illustrates this:

C21 (Jill): *Ok so let's go through them again while you're writing;*

C34 (Learner): *It was when things were created... please copy this down... while I'm doing it...*

C66 (Jill): *Ok then we went on to legends... exaggerated stories... so all the characters and all the events that happened will be exaggerated... they will be made bigger... they will be made larger than life... let me write that down...*

It is also noted that Jill recorded information on the board while engaging her learners in specific writing activities related to the task.

The above characteristics of Jill's teaching suggest the possibility of her "teaching to the test". It is argued by Madaus (1997: 29-32), cited in Coetzee-van Rooy (2001) that, understandably in traditional education, the "*real curriculum has become what learners have had to study for the test/examination/assignment.*" Sutherland and Peckham (1998: 98, cited in Coetzee-van Rooy, 2001) feel that such a situation occurs when:

Assessment tasks define the curriculum in the sense that learners often focus on topics that are to be assessed in the hope of getting good marks.

These authors vividly describe such a condition as "*the tail that wags the dog*" (Sutherland & Peckham, 1998: 98).

The above opinions convey the idea of "teaching to the test" as poor teaching practice. In his online article "*Let's Teach to the Test*", Matthews (2006: A21) confirms the existence of such a view in the literature: in searching *Google* for the phrase, he found that it presented 59.2 million hits, those of which he read were mostly unfriendly. He highlights that some of these articles believed that "*teaching to the test rendered test scores meaningless or had a dumbing effect on instruction.*" In Matthews' view, there are ways to "teach to the test" that produce negative effects. He speaks in this regard of the possibility of "drill fests".

In Jill's case a negative effect would have been produced if she helped her learners to master the test rather than help them understand the work (Matthews, 2006: A21). Matthews argues that "teaching to the test" does not have to be perceived as negative in situations where it helps children to learn. He provides the example of the "*Advanced Placement, International Baccalaureate and Cambridge courses*" used in some American schools. He reports that in these schools, the task of preparing for an external test

produced effective team-working contexts. Having watched these teachers at work, he applauds their treatment of the external test as a useful guide and motivator.

Whether Jill's practices of "teaching to the test" are good or bad was not a point I pursued in this analysis. My task was to illuminate the power that is produced by these practices. A possible negative effect was suggested by the apparent boredom learners experienced during the revision activity. It was noted in frames C1 to C8, that the learners were reluctant to cooperate with Jill. While this might have been because they were preoccupied with the writing of notes, there were further indications which pointed to the possibility of their being bored with the repetitiveness of the activity. Learners' body language (their leaning back in their chairs and random yawning) created the impression that they were bored. Further indications of boredom and restlessness are suggested by the frames below.

C21 (Jill): *Ok so let's go through them again while you're writing.*

C22 (Learners): *Aw....miss.*

C23 (Jill): *Listen...I won't have attitude...absolutely not! I said this section is important for exams...where was I now?*

A myth includes Gods and Goddesses... it will always include gods and goddesses.

C54 (Jill): *OK we're going to go through it again with some examples.*

C56 (Jill): *Ok in the beginning the earth was formless, desolate- the earth was nothing... ssh... then the Gods decided that they were ... the Gods decided that they needed to create something on this empty earth... so the Gods decided to create...Kiran are you listening... whenever you two sit together (pointing to 2 boys) there are problems in my class....*

C57 (L) *Miss he took my...*

C58 (T) *Please stop messing around boys!*

C59 (T) What are some of the stories... ? What's wrong Steven?

....what is your problem? ... Guys please come to class prepared.

C60 (L) Steven walks out of his place to the waste basket.

C61 (T) Steven you are holding up the whole class... please hurry up... Why do you have to disturb me? Do you want me to give you order marks? You've already got about 50 from me this term....aren't you learning anything from all the detentions? ... Sit down now and you gonna see me after class...

It was noted that in these instances learners responded in a similar way when Jill informed them that she would like to go through the answers again. In C21, and C52, Jill indicates that she would like to go over the work again. In frames C22 and C56, a form of *restlessness* is suggested by the learners' walking out of place, laughing, and other similar behaviour. It could be argued that these acts of restless behaviour were manifestations of the learners' boredom with the repetitiveness of the activity.

There were also many positive effects produced from Jill's practices of "teaching to the test". For example, Jill's strategy of asking learners to write down what she considered to be the main points, possibly worked to consolidate ideas on the activity. Jill's frequent mentioning of the "exams" also served as a motivational strategy to sustain the interest of the learners. We see evidence of such a possibility in frame C23. In this instance Jill sternly informs an uncooperative learner that the section she is doing is important, particularly for the exams. We notice that the learner immediately became compliant. The fact that Jill did not encounter a further lack of corporation from this learner implies that he had become cognizant of Jill's point. In these cases Jill's use of the *examination* had a strong motivational function: it encouraged the learner to re-focus his attention.

Although Jill's strategies of "teaching to the test" were not necessarily indicative of poor practice in the sense that they produced many positive effects for learning, they still largely conveyed a sense of the power of assessment over the curriculum. The point is that Jill's assessment practices were geared more towards the products of learning (such

as passing an examination), rather than to the processes of learning (such as knowing in itself).

b) The Portfolio Activity

This discourse of the *Portfolio* was found to permeate the text in overt and covert ways. Throughout the extract there was explicit mention of the Portfolio. Some of these references related to “previous work” while a large percentage of these related to “exams” and “marks”. Throughout the extract there were also subtle undercurrents regarding the discourses of the portfolio, “marks” and accountability. Jill’s emphasis on *marks* in the portfolio exercise reflected a strong “pull” towards traditional practices where “hard evidence” of learning in the form of *marks* is valued. One got the sense that there were deeper forces at play at this site. In order to explore the nature of such forces, scrutiny was given to the discourse of the portfolio as it is conveyed in Policy documents.

The *Revised National Curriculum Statement* (DoE, 2002: 10), describes *Learner Portfolios*” as:

A portfolio is a method of keeping a record of learners’ work in a file or box. It gives the learner and teacher the opportunity to consider a number of assessment activities together. Learners would keep written work or records of practical exercises and should be personally responsible for maintaining their portfolios. It should be something special to them and at the end of the year they can take it home to show their parents.

The above document conveys the idea of Portfolios being used to document learners’ behaviour, skills and knowledge over a certain period. It is conveyed as a tool which analyzes academic progress and personal growth. It is also suggested as a tool for self-assessment and to assist learners in their decision-making skills. As the document projects, “learners are given an opportunity to take responsibility for their own learning and life plan.” In this sense the Portfolio comes across as “special” for the individual’s own reflection on their progress. In sum, the Portfolio is conveyed as a tool which

analyses several elements of learning. As it states, it “*enables the learner, educators and families to analyze capabilities, focus on strengths, develop underdeveloped areas, and plan for the future.*” It is described in the document as the “*hub for integrating learners’ experiences in and out of the classroom.*” It is made apparent in the Revised National Curriculum Statement, that the portfolio is aimed at building a “holistic view” of learners’ school life.

Jill’s practices *do* convey a sense of these aims and purposes. For example, in the opening lines of the text, Jill asks the learners “*what they put into their portfolios*”. Jill mentioned her previous use of the portfolio and asked learners questions on the contents of the task. She asked her learners to draw from their previous inputs in their portfolios. In this sense she used the portfolio as a rich resource of learners’ work. In these practices, Jill reflected a sense of being in line with the spirit and intentions of intersubjective assessment, as conveyed in Assessment Policy. However, Jill’s Portfolio practices also conveyed the impression that her understanding of this assessment tool, was in strong tension with that set out in policy.

The above idea is initially suggested in frame C15 where Jill states:

...please listen... this is also important ... it’s also going to go in your portfolios for marks for your term-mark... right... so pay attention.

Jill portrays the idea of “marks” as central to the notion of the portfolio. This practice appears to go against the philosophy of the Portfolio as suggested in policy documents. In an interview, Jill conveyed her belief that only the pieces of work learners did for “term marks” should be put into their portfolios. Jill’s approach of emphasising “marks” in *Portfolio* activities came across as being in tension with the ideas suggested in policy. Although the idea of marks is inherent to the concept of the *Portfolio*, it is not portrayed as the key element. Jill’s emphasis on “marks”, conflicts with the aims outlined in policy. By her strategy of only reflecting learners’ “marks” in the portfolio, a possible skewed perspective of the learners’ progress was presented.

One got the impression from Jill's practices, that her understanding and use of the Portfolio, was distorted by a concealed discourse of accountability. There were other events within the extract which gave support to this idea. Discourses of accountability were found to permeate the Policy document. For example, The Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002) provides *Assessment guidelines* which project the "learner and teacher" as partners sharing the responsibility of collecting pieces of evidence. It also speaks of parental scrutiny: "*at the end of the year they can take it home to show their parents.*" The extract suggests that in a subtle way, the discourse of *accountability* intersected with the discourse of the Portfolio. One can understand Jill's need to ensure (through the awarding of "marks") that she was doing her job. It could perhaps be argued that the external judgement faced by the teacher, produced a form of pressure for Jill to convey "evidence" of work done.

c) The Group-Work Activity

During the group-work activity there was a notably stronger presence of intersubjective assessment elements. Jill was apparently engaged in evaluating the learners' experiences of "group-work". The ethos of the lesson at this point was different from that during earlier activities: Jill seemed to offer greater room for interaction than she did on earlier tasks. The nature of her questions also appeared different: during the revision activity her questions were more objective, while during the group-work activity her questions were more open-ended in nature. It could be argued that there was an improvement in the learners' responses because Jill used more stimulating questions. Jill's feedback during the group-work activity took on a more constructive nature: Jill highlighted various intersubjective elements of group-work, and related the ideas from discussions to learners' past experiences. In this part of the lesson, a strong case for intersubjectivity was presented. The following example is illustrative of this.

In the following site (frame C79), Jill justifies her use of "group-work" to the class. She says:

Er please listen... ok 8h... can you tell me by putting up your hand...we've worked a lot in groups... remember last term we did our colour prac and there was a lot of group-work... also now when we're writing our stories there's a lot of group-work... and you know with drama that it is a lot of group-work... so what I want to know just by putting your hands up if you got it right....answer... what have you learnt most about group-work... what have you enjoyed what have you not enjoyed and what do you think group-work includes?

Jill makes three references to previous work (the “colour prac”, the writing of stories and the drama), indicating the relevance of the group-work activity. We appreciate such attempts by Jill to nurture her learners into new assessment practices. This perhaps justifies her emphasis and repetition of concepts (such as group-work) in intersubjective assessment.

However, there were understated ways within this text, which suggested that Jill's emphases and repetitions went further than their function of helping her learners to understand the new assessment techniques. For example, the previous “group-work” activities she spoke about, were conducted a while back in the previous term, while this lesson took place at the tail end of the current term. We also noted that the activity was done on a “colour prac” - an activity Jill claimed to have used in the Art component of the Arts and Culture Learning Area. Moreover, Jill stated that she used it in “drama” which implied a more general use of the technique of group-work. These instances conveyed the subtle impression that the group-work activity was not *directly* linked to the current work on Folktales, Myths and Legends and had been “fitted” into the lesson in question for another (perhaps more concealed) purpose.

A significant link could be found between Jill's teaching practices and the following extract from the Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002: 13):

At various points in each term you would make sure you do a formative assessment of relevant assessment standards. You will use a variety of assessment strategies such as exercises, tasks and projects to give learners the opportunity to show what they have learned. You will give learners feedback after any formative

assessment to help them improve their performance. You may use one activity to assess a number of different assessment standards or you may use several different activities to assess different assessment standards. You could use either of the record sheets provided depending on which is most suitable for how you choose to assess, or you will use the record sheets your school assessment programme recommends. You can then use the codes your province has determined to record feedback from each learner's assessment.

It was found that Jill's choice of activities followed Policy guidelines in very literal ways. A scrutiny of Jill's "group activity" reflected its attempt to evaluate the group's formative processes. Note was taken of her attempt to provide "feedback" to her learners on the task. The sample "record sheet" on the RNCS (DoE, 2002: 13) reflects a direct match to Jill's "group-assessment rubric" (attached to her worksheet on Folktales, Myths and Legends). The impression was created that Jill had interpreted the document in an almost exact way. We can hardly fault Jill for following Policy documents (even her very literal interpretation). Understandably intersubjective techniques such as *group-work* are new concepts and teachers need as many explicit guidelines as possible. On its own, the activity appears to be successful in many ways. Yet, it is the almost precise way in which the activity matches the outlines in the Policy document, which suggest that there other more powerful discourses at play. These subtly worked to produce conformity.

IN REVIEW

The above analyses suggest that several "fault-lines" were in existence at this site. In the earlier instance, we spoke of Jill's *revision activity* where her "teaching to the test" practices indicated her perception of assessment as that which drives the curriculum. We then highlighted Jill's practices regarding her use of the *portfolio*. These discussions suggest that there is discord between the Policy officials' portrayal of intersubjective assessment and Jill's interpretations of them. In the third instance, we spoke of Jill's practices in the "*group-assessment*" activity. What comes through the discussions is that the *group-work* task, which reflected a high intersubjective presence, was not convincingly linked to the earlier activity. It appeared to have been "fitted" into the

lesson for a particular effect. Not only did we have Jill “fitting” in an intersubjective activity into the discourses of her lesson, but we witnessed it in an almost “model-like” form. Perhaps Jill did this for the benefit of an observer such as me: she was aware of my interest in the new assessment tradition and perhaps planned a presentation which reflected such practices for my benefit. My influence as an observer was therefore likely to have been implicated in the discourses.

This extract revealed the convergence of a complexity of forces. These were found to “move” in opposing ways, creating “fault lines” on the surface of the lesson. These “fault lines” are traced in the following section to possible hidden or submerged oppositional discourses. Metaphorically, focus is given to the “relative movement” or “hazardous interplay” of these “tectonic plates” (hidden forces) which produced the apparent “fractures” on the surface.

CONTINGENCY

Foucault is cited in Cormack (2003) stating that our particular ‘*practices*’ locate us in particular “regimes of the person”. He argues for the concept of *genealogical subjectivity*’ to focus on such the ‘*practices*’. Rose (1999a) develops this concept by turning the issue of *teacher identity* into a question, and by transforming into further problems the “*obstacles and difficulties*” teachers experience by linking these to institutional discourses and demands. This framework of *subjectivity* is used to explore the “relative movements” or contingencies of the present social arrangements and experiences in the extract.

The following discussion, which is referred to as “regimes of the person”, explores the practices which shape the teacher’s subjectivities. Consideration is given to the technologies which operated within the classroom discourses to shape ways of thinking and acting in assessment. Particular reference is made to Jill’s practices of the *portfolio* and the *group-assessment activity* which features towards the end of the lesson.

Regimes of the Person

Jill's *portfolio* practices convey a conspicuous emphasis on marks. When she referred to the portfolio during the extract, she associated it with marks. From the samples of learner portfolios that were examined, only *test items* were included. In conversations with Jill regarding the portfolio, she conveyed her perception of the portfolio as a collection of items that were carried out as tests during the term, and that constitute the continuous assessment component of the "year mark". We argued earlier that Jill's understandings and practices of the portfolio seemed to be in conflict with the views thereof projected by policy officials. Events within the extract suggested that Jill's portfolio practices were possibly distorted by the impact of forces exerted by traditional assessment. In traditional assessment practices, "hard evidence" usually in the form of *marks* is prioritised (Gipps, 1994; Shephard, 2000; Broadfoot, 1996). It was apparent that Jill's experiences of intersubjective assessment techniques (in this case the Portfolio), were riddled with conflict.

The tension, Jill experienced with intersubjective assessment methods, is not perceived as unusual in the literature (e.g. Black and William, 1998: 120). The above-mentioned authors, who have conducted an extensive literature review into the phenomenon of intersubjective assessment, argue that by the fact that teachers have to be involved in both issues of "learning" *and* "marks" in intersubjective assessment practice, they are bound to experience some tension between these two roles. They portray the former as the highest priority of the teacher. They relate the latter to pressure which is brought on by external demands. The heart of their argument is that it is difficult for teachers to achieve a pedagogic balance between the two aspects, given the current nature of current educational systems, where an emphasis on *marks* is unavoidable (Black and William, 1998).

Broadfoot (1996) points to the complex boundary between the different requirements of the two roles that teachers often have to negotiate. She argues that the assessment of individuals against a set of national criteria, both for the improvement of learning and

accountability purposes, has become a popular way of increasing school effectiveness in recent years. She believes that it is very difficult for teachers to balance these demands because they are underpinned by different requirements, with one of them involving 'higher stakes'. She argues that the demand for accountability, for certification and selection, for hard evidence, usually take precedence over the equally legitimate requirement that assessment should promote learning. Broadfoot maintains that the tensions incurred by the 'marks' and "learning" requirements of assessment, are surface issues to far deeper competing discourses, of internal and external accountability.

The discourses inherent to this extract show support for Broadfoot's (1996) ideas. These discourses are discussed using a framework adapted from the work of Cormack (2003). In Cormack's (1986: 208) study of learners as subjects, he highlights three descriptions proposed by Foucault of human beings as 'subjects':

...being made the subject of knowledge, being subject to dividing practices, and submitting oneself to an 'ethics of the self'...

In Cormack's (2003) terms, the first two descriptions refer to the idea of being made subject to discourses and discursive practices, while the last concerns the work that people do on themselves in order to fit with the positions made available to them in discourses. He develops a framework of three questions which may be used to shed light on ways humans may be made into subjects. Cormack's framework was employed in this analysis because it offered promise for bringing to the fore the ways in which the teacher is made a subject. The following framework of questions was adapted from Cormack's (2003) work and used in the empirical exploration of this extract:

- What labels, metaphors and titles are given to the teacher as a subject in the discourses of assessment and the outcomes-based curriculum?
- What dividing practices and grids of specification are used to group, differentiate or otherwise identify the teacher as a subject in the discourses of schooling and the outcomes based curriculum?
- What invitations and practices are made available to the teacher for making themselves subject to the discourses of schooling and the outcomes based curriculum?

The following discussion attends to each of the questions highlighted above.

What labels, metaphors and titles were given to the teacher as a subject in the discourses of the outcomes-based curriculum?

In exploring this question, the discourses of the key curricular document in South Africa, were analyzed. The *Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 (Schools)* (DoE, 2002: 1) states:

This curriculum is written by South Africans for South Africans who hold dear the principles and practices of democracy. It encapsulates our vision of teachers and learners who are knowledgeable and multi-faceted, sensitive to environmental issues and able to respond to and act upon the many challenges that will still confront South Africa in this twenty first century.

The document further envisions the following kind of teacher:

Educators at all levels are key contributors to the transformation of education in South Africa. Teachers have a particularly important role to play. The National Curriculum Statement envisions teachers who are qualified, competent, dedicated and caring and who will be able to fulfill the various roles outlined in the Norms and Standards for Educators of 2000 (Government Gazette No 20844). These see teachers as mediators of learning, interpreters and designers of Learning Programmes and materials, leaders, administrators and managers, scholars, researchers and lifelong learners, community members, citizens and pastors, assessors and learning area/phase specialists (Dept of Education, 2002: 1).

The *Revised National Curriculum Statement* (DoE, 2002) conceptualizes teachers as highly skilled, well informed and receptive to potential challenges. These skills, competences and characteristics collectively portray teachers as highly qualified, competent, dedicated and caring individuals. One gets the impression from the labels given to teachers that the state perceives them as driving the forces of change (“key contributors”; “important transformers/agents of education”). The labels and metaphors

highlighted above suggest that a large responsibility for change rests on teachers' shoulders. The role of the teacher, within this new framework, is conveyed as an amorphous task. One acknowledges the kind of pressure that is placed on the teacher to meet these expectations as a professional. It is perhaps the extent of these external expectations that creates internal pressure on teachers to conform.

There is much in the extract which suggests that there are complex forms of internal pressures at play in the different sites. In for example frame C79, Jill's repetition of the word "group-work" is obvious:

Er please listen... ok 8h... can you tell me by putting up your hand... we've worked a lot in groups... remember last term we did our colour prac and there was a lot of group-work... also now when we're writing our stories there's a lot of group-work... and you know with drama that it is a lot of group-work... so what I want to know just by putting your hands up if you got it right... answer... what have you learnt most about group-work... what have you enjoyed what have you not enjoyed and what do you think group-work includes?

In this short segment of the discourse, Jill mentions the words "group/group-work" six times. Although these repetitions could simply be Jill's attempts to show how her current activity is linked to previous activities, there were subtle indications that deeper concealed forces of power were at play.

Jill's repetitive use of "*a lot of... (Group-work)...*" could be indicative of her intent to highlight her engagement with the new techniques in assessment. Earlier, we noted the kind of external pressure that emerges from Policy discourses for teachers to embrace change. The possibility exists that Jill was demonstrating (by repetition) to a possible observer like myself, that she was fulfilling policy expectations. By making obvious her supposed skills and knowledge in intersubjective assessment practices, she could have been suggesting her professionalism and receptivity to change. From this perspective, one can understand why the "group-activity" might have been "forced" into the lesson.

What dividing practices were used to group, differentiate or otherwise identify the teacher as a subject in the discourses of assessment?

In exploring this question, references were made to the *National Policy of Assessment and Qualifications for Schools in the General Education and Training Band* (DoE, 2002: 16- 28). The key areas referenced were: *The Teacher's Portfolio; Management of School Assessment Records and Moderation*.

In the section of the Teacher's Portfolio, a list of "expectations" is provided.

TEACHERS' PORTFOLIO

50. All teachers are expected to keep a portfolio containing all documents related to assessment. It is the teachers' responsibility to ensure that the information in their assessment portfolios is kept up to date.
51. A teacher's portfolio may be a file, a folder, a box, or any other suitable storage system.
52. Teachers' portfolios should contain the tasks for assessment as well as the planning that informs the development of these tasks and the records of assessment of the formal tasks.
53. Teachers should, as part of their planning, provide an indication of the Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards assessed in each task.
54. The formally recorded assessment tasks should be clearly marked or indicated in teachers' portfolios. Stickers, coloured paper, etc. may be used for this purpose.
55. Teachers' portfolios should be available on request at all times for moderation and accountability purposes.

Insert: The Teacher's Portfolio; National Policy of Assessment and Qualifications for Schools in the General Education and Training Band (DoE, 2002: 16- 28)

The above guidelines indicate that teachers are expected to keep an up-dated record of all documents pertaining to assessment, their planning and focus in terms of outcomes. The

idea is also conveyed that some systematic form of storage is needed. Finer details such as *how* information should be stored, is outlined. The document expects *Teacher's Portfolios* to be available “on request” at “all times” for the purposes of “moderation and accountability”. One gets the sense of teachers being highly accountable to the Department in terms of their assessment practices as a whole.

The section headed “*Management of School Assessment Records*” details how and what should be recorded. It is noted that teachers are expected to be “efficient”, systematic (“up to date”) and cautious (“careful”) about how they go about doing assessment. It provides finer details of the aspects of the learner and the learning that should be recorded. This excerpt conveys an idea of the rigorous and vigorous procedures teachers have to be involved in assessors.

MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL ASSESSMENT RECORDS

56. The assessment records that should be completed and kept at school are record sheets, schedules, teacher portfolios and learner profiles. The management, maintenance and safeguarding of the learner profiles, schedules and report cards is the responsibility of school management. The management and maintenance of the record sheets and teacher portfolios is the responsibility of every teacher.

Record Sheets

57. Teachers are expected to keep an efficient and current record of learners' progress. It is expected that carefully compiled records and/or evidence of learner performance be maintained to justify the final rating a learner receives at the end of the year. Teachers are expected to keep current records of learners' progress electronically or in files/books/folders or any other form the school has agreed on. These record sheets must at least have the following information (*See an example of a record sheet in Annexure A*):

- Learning Programme/ Learning Area / Subject
- Grade and class
- Learners' names

- Dates of assessment
- Names of the formal assessment tasks
- The results of formal assessment tasks
- Comments for support purposes when and where appropriate.

58. The record sheets should be used to compile a schedule that will in turn be used to compile reports once a term.

Insert: Management of School Assessment Records; National Policy of Assessment and Qualifications for Schools in the General Education and Training Band (DoE, 2002: 16- 28)

In the section on *Moderation* which follows this, we get a sense that teachers are highly accountable to external bodies for their assessments.

PART 5: MODERATION

110. At the national level the General and Further Education and Training Quality Assurance Council (Umalusi) will moderate all the different components of assessment at the Grade 9 level. Umalusi will attest to the standard, appropriateness and applicability of both the Continuous Assessment and the Common Tasks for Assessment.

Insert: Moderation; National Policy of Assessment and Qualifications for Schools in the General Education and Training Band (DoE, 2002: 16- 28).

The above excerpts emphasize the teachers' accountability to the state. There is the sense that teachers are highly answerable for the quality of the work they do in classrooms. Understandably, such goals are necessary - given the current fragile state of affairs in the South African education system. One can appreciate the states' need to inculcate a stronger sense of responsibility amongst its stakeholders. With moderation processes in place, standards may be maintained allowing for greater degrees of fairness. While we appreciate the accountability measures regarding assessment, we are also cognizant from events in the extract, that they could take precedence over the goal of assessment - to

promote learning. As is suggested in Jill's case, the issue of *marks* took precedence over *learning*.

What invitations and practices were made available to the teacher for making themselves subject to the discourses of schooling and the outcomes based curriculum?

In responding to the above question an analysis of excerpts from the “*National Policy on Assessment and Qualifications for schools in the General Education and Training Band*” (DoE, 2002), was undertaken. Cole's (2006), study of “Signage and Surveillance” in the context of CCTV in the UK, was found to be useful in this analysis. Cole's (2006) idea of *Permeation* was found to be relevant to issues in this extract. He used this concept to investigate the way in which signage permeates or is absorbed into the “urban landscape” of a text. Cole's taxonomy, of the signage that supports surveillance, was applied to the above documents. The following extracts from the above document illustrate how surveillance permeates the text:

- 1) Point 55, states: “*Teacher's portfolios should be available on request at all times for moderation and accountability purposes*”
- 2) Point 56 states: “*The assessment records should be completed and kept at school are...*”; “*The management, maintenance and safeguarding of the learner profiles, schedules and report cards is the responsibility of the school's management*”; “*The management and maintenance of the record sheets and teacher portfolios is the responsibility of each teacher...*”
- 3) Point 14 states: “*teachers have the overall responsibility to assess the progress of learners in achieving the expected outcomes, and the national and provincial departments of education are accountable for the management of the assessment programmes*”.
- 4) Point 57 states: *Teachers are expected to keep an efficient and current record of learners' progress.*

An analysis of the document reveals the enmeshed discourses of accountability and surveillance techniques. This is suggested by the words: “...*should be available on request at all times for moderation and accountability...the assessment records should be completed and kept at school...*” These strategies work to monitor teachers’ progress in the various outlined roles. The teacher was, not surprisingly, intricately caught up between two strong discourses: the one of accountability and the other, of learners’ needs. At the same time, she herself is, through surveillance, subjugated, made subject to, and governed by institutionalized forces.

It is clear to see how Jill may have been caught up in the conflicting discourses of accountability and learning. The discourses within the documents convey the dire need for a transformation from systems of “grading” to those that foster “learning”. Yet there is an over-powering discourse of accountability throughout the documentation. Compounding this pressure is the States’ invisible monitoring system. One understands the teacher’s plight: within the privacy of her classroom, Jill feels a sense of being in control. Ironically, in these spaces she is highly visible to subtle systems of surveillance. Whether the doors are closed, and no one can “see” her, there is still the possibility of her being observed. In this point, Foucault’s (1977: 217) words ring true:

We are neither in the amphitheatre, nor on the stage, but in the panoptic machine, invested by its effects of power, which we bring to ourselves since we are part of its mechanism.

Foucault suggests that the teacher is part of a system which is under constant surveillance. One gets the sense that, for the teacher (as for other citizens), there is no real way to escape from power.

EMERGENCE

This extract suggested conspicuous imbalances on the surface and oppositional discourses in existence beneath the surface, of schooling life. In one dimension, there was the tension between the learners' needs to pass the examination and Jill's personal feelings of accountability to the school or Department. In another, there was the department's expectation for teachers' to change to new methods of teaching versus teachers' personal beliefs and values about how this should happen. For learners there was the need to embrace new and strange practices of teaching and assessment versus the comfort zones of traditional practices. All of these experiences were found to occur against the background of strong personal circumstances and challenging contextual factors. The emergent situation was the clash of these discourses (tectonic plates), creating striking discontinuity.

A salient point has emerged from this analysis: the comprehensive hold those in power have over individual bodies. Foucault (1977) uses *Panopticism* as a metaphor to discuss this phenomenon. He speaks of living in the panoptic society where the individual is subjected to constant surveillance. In such a society, life styles and standards are not natural, but the product of choices made for them by those in power. For him, what was striking in education was the construction of the disciplinary subject. As Foucault (1977: 308) writes about this idea in *Discipline and Punish*:

[T]he notions of institutions of repression, rejection, exclusion, marginalisation, are not adequate to describe, at the very centre of the carceral city, the formation of the insidious leniencies, unavowable petty cruelties, small acts of cunning, calculated methods, techniques, 'sciences' that permit the fabrication of the disciplinary individual. In this central and centralised humanity, the effect and instrument of complex power relations, bodies and forces subjected by multiple mechanisms of 'incarceration', objects for discourses that are themselves elements for this strategy.

Foucault argued that, among other social institutions, schools aim to watch and 'know' subjects in society through the gaze which is considered as "natural". This analysis has

provided an understanding of how multiple realities operate upon bodies to render them as subjects. It has shown us some of the “dangerous” ways that subjectivity is constructed within the school. It highlights Foucault’s view that “multiple” discourses lead to the creation of docile bodies that exist in our world. Moreover, it is this manifestation of power that serves to create the disciplinary society (Foucault, 1977).

A REFLECTION ON EXTRACT “C”

This analysis began with a problem in the present (the issue of *marks* and *learning*) and examined how it was assembled historically. In the movements of the lesson one got the impression that Jill had a sense of command over assessment and knowledge in her classroom. On scrutiny of the “fault lines” evident in the extract, we came to understand, that Jill was subjected to an external force of control and supervision. This gave rise to forms of control of her learners which she may not have intended. Rose (1998b: 22) expresses the following view, which has relevance in this analysis:

...the human being is not the eternal basis of human history and human culture but a historical and cultural artifact.

Rose’s idea draws attention to the fact that the teacher is always subject to the forms of power operating in society.

Foucault (1978: 94-95) argues that “*power relations are both intentional and non-subjective*”. Foucault’s message has echoed in this analysis. A common situation in Jill’s classroom was that the power she thought she exercised often had undefined effects of at times, supporting her goals and at others undermining them. A similar situation could be found with the state: the power of the state may have been used with a particular goal in mind, but the knowledge produced in the analysis shows that the state did not always have control over the power it put into play. This analysis is optimistic that it has created awareness of the intricate forces that shape identities so that individuals may be able to liberate themselves from similar oppressive discourses.

EXTRACT "D"

PANOPTICISM

NARRATIVE OF EXTRACT ‘D’

The extract is drawn from a grade eight English Language lesson in which, “clauses” in sentences is assessed through a group-work activity. The extract captures the initial stages of the larger assessment activity in which learners are put into groups and assessed on their performance of a task.

The teacher, Jill, introduced the topic by building on a section she started in the previous lesson. She used varied methods to convey information to her learners. These include methods such as chalk and talk, the overhead projector and worksheets. Learners were seated in rows for part of the lesson and then moved into groups for group-activity. Jill positioned herself at different points during different stages of the lesson. Prior to this incident, Jill explained what a clause was and provided various examples thereof. The learners copied down some of these explanations and examples from a transparency. Jill stressed that for that lesson she was dealing with only one kind of clause, namely the “adverbial clause”. She explained that she would later be dividing the class into groups for an activity relating to adverbial clauses and that they needed to concentrate so that they knew what to do when the time (for the activity) arose. Using a question-answer technique, Jill led a discussion on adverbial clauses. Learners responded verbally and wrote notes intermittently.

The lesson continued with Jill allocating learners into groups. Learners were seemingly cooperative. A request by a learner to be put into a group with his friends was met with irritation from Jill. Her subsequent change in mood was apparent. Her voice levels increased sharply, her tone sharpened and her body language bore a tension.

Jill spent much time deliberating on the grouping of learners. She generally gave careful consideration to the organisation of groups. Her questioning strategy was characteristically close-ended. Jill guarded learners’ use of time and space. The class was given the instruction by Jenny to move to the allocated group space only when she

was satisfied to do so. During this movement, which took a few minutes, Jill observed learners' movements closely from the front of the class. Generally learners spoke casually to each other and although the noise levels were high, the general atmosphere was relaxed and easy going.

Jill employed strategic positions in the classroom. In instances her position in space in addition to her body language conveyed vital information to learners regarding their behaviour. She often stood in front of the class, waiting for the learners to settle down. This consequently led to general and gradual dying down of the noise levels. She sometimes used other body language indicators to convey that she was watching them.

Jill prescribed most of the task and left very little room for learner input. She turned to face a group of learners and called them "group number 1". She then told them that they had to do the "first one" which was "Time" and that before she gave them their "allocated adverbial clause" she needed them to write a song for each one. Jill also guarded the task-time. When a boy shouted out to Jenny that he sang for his mother once, Jill ignored the comment. In another situation, learners responded with a collective moan to the singing requirement of the task. This moan was accompanied by unhappy facial expressions. Jill ignored the negative responses to the singing task, and raising her voice above that of the learners' voices, carried on with the next set of instructions. Consequently, learner resistance declined and although their general body language indicated their compliance (they became quiet, heads focused on the teacher, bodies relaxed), learners' anxious facial expressions reflected that they were unhappy with the arrangement.

In a situation in which Jill instructs the class to sing or rap, the class broke out into excited talking. Many learners were smiling and gesturing in approval. Jill shouted at the learners in disapproval. Her facial expressions reflected that anger and irritation had replaced her earlier mood. She then tried to regain their attention by clapping her hands and shouting out at the class. When the class had quietened down after a few minutes, Jill continued discussing the plans for the activity. Her instructions were met with a moan.

The facial expressions of members in class reflected dread for the task. Jill shouted for the class to settle down. Some of the noise reduced immediately although there was still some murmuring going on.

Jill continued with further instructions. Her requests for attention became more persistent, and at one point became a plea. When this polite request was not met with joy she then snapped at them loudly and this time singled out an individual: "8C! Timothy!" This time the noise died down completely and Jenny went on in a quieter tone with further instructions. She then repeated the key concept each group had to work with. When interrupted mid-way through a discussion, Jill briefly looked around the class in a stern way. The noise levels immediately dropped to silence and she continued until all 8 groups' tasks were repeated. Just as she finished her last point, a learner asked if they could move into their groups. As the activity continues, the noise level gains momentum. Jill makes a further request for the noise to stop.

ANALYSIS OF EXTRACT “D”

*“We don't need no education.
We don't need no thought control.
No dark sarcasm in the classroom.
Teachers leave those learners alone”*

Pink Floyd: Another brick in the wall

DISCONTINUITY

In what could be perceived as a strongly structured and well-planned series of activities, Jill mobilized her lesson. She introduced the topic by building on a section she had started in the previous lesson. She explained what a “clause” was and provided various examples thereof. She used three predominant instructional techniques: ‘chalk and talk’, the overhead projector and a worksheet. She positioned herself at the front of the class with learners being organized in rows. Jill’s learners were initially attentive and fairly responsive. She then introduced them to a peer assessment activity. To advance this aspect of the lesson, Jill put her learners into groups and then outlined in detail, a procedure of peer-group assessment. She explained that they were required to perform the task in front of the class and that their peers would then assess them. They would do this by giving them an appropriate mark on a “rubric” they could find on their worksheets. Learners proceeded with the tasks with Jill keenly monitoring their progress. During the activity, it was found that the learners became noisy and disorderly- a situation which created moments of tension between Jill and her learners. Jill dealt with these issues in a way that produced the effect of her learners becoming compliant and cooperative.

This overview of the lesson creates a picture of continuity in which one could uncomplicatedly view power as an oppositional, authoritative force via the teacher who acts to control the actions of the learners. We are cognizant however, through Foucault's (1972) work, that such an analysis of power presents an incomplete and superficial picture: it portrays power in repressive and negative terms, ignoring its productive, positive and universal effects. To do justice to this genealogical analysis, attention was not given to the positioning of power, or to the individuals upon whom power was supposedly exercised. Rather, it focused on the "effects of power" (Foucault, 1980c: 97). We are also cognizant that although Foucault encourages us to dispel pre-existing assumptions of "truth" in order to do justice to genealogical analysis, he believes that conditions for "unity" may also be conditions for disunity. The following discussion therefore attempts to unearth *disunity*. It does this by carefully examining the extract's portrayal of "unity". It particularly takes note of any "discursive break, threshold or limit" (Foucault, 1972: 38).

This analysis revealed a distinctive formation where the introduction of an intersubjective assessment activity into the lesson erupted, into what could be seen as an amalgam of confusion, apprehension and anxiety. This activity culminated in a complete loosening up or rupturing of order and structure of the lesson. The themes and concepts concentrated at this point suggested a neat splitting of the ethos of the lesson into two segments: the one characterized by strong structure and smooth lesson mobility - the other by disorder, uncertainty and tension in teacher-learner relations. The issue of why a strongly structured and productive lesson suddenly loosened up in such a strange way was perplexing. In examining the external conditions possibly contingent to this situation, multiple discourses were presented. In line with the aims of this analysis, priority was given to those discursive practices in intersubjective assessment which positioned the learners as "*docile bodies*" (Foucault, 1977). In other words, the study examined the ways certain discursive practices restricted or limited learners' actions.

In his book *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault writes about unearthing hidden forms of domination in schooling contexts through the concept of Panopticism. Foucault's

(1977) principle of the Panopticon has been discussed earlier (Chapter Two). He writes of the Panopticon, designed by Jeremy Bentham (1995), as that which functions on the basis of surveillance (Foucault, 1977). He shows how it uses surveillance to ensure the compliance and docility of prisoners (Foucault, 1977). To assist in unearthing the concealed forms of power within the intersubjective assessment practices in this extract, the concept of Panopticism was used.

Gore's (1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 2002) work, which reflects a concentration in this area of Foucault's work, was influential in providing this study with a set of Panoptic lenses to examine productive power in Jill's assessment practices. Gore's (2002) work in the paper, "*Some certainties in the uncertain world of classroom practice: An outline of a theory of power relations in pedagogy*", is particularly exemplary. This writer attempted to describe how pedagogy functions in classrooms using Foucault's ideas on disciplinary power. Gore (2002: 1) cites the point Foucault (1980) uses to justify an analysis of disciplinary power in the schooling context:

In thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their action and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives.

Gore's (2002) arguments suggest that an analysis of classroom practices, using the lens of Panopticism, could be promising in "unveiling" power in intersubjective assessment practices.

Wolff's (2000) ideas were also significant. Wolff (2000) has studied the discipline employed in the motion picture *Dangerous Minds* from the perspective of the Panopticon. She found Foucault's panoptic insights useful in illuminating why schools try so hard to discipline, particularly inner city school populations like those at Parkmont High (in the film). She argues for a better understanding of *Dangerous Minds*, through the lens of the Panopticon. She particularly looks at how the Foucauldian principles of hierarchy, surveillance, regulation, and the "gaze" play out in the film. On the basis of her studies she endorses Foucault's view that power is inescapable: we are always inside

some disciplinary machine, always inside some net-like organization where we can be subjected to the effects of power and act as vehicles for its articulation (Foucault, 1977). She cites Foucault's (1977:199) views on disciplinary power:

That is why discipline fixes; it arrests or regulates movements; it clears up confusion; it dissipates compact groupings of individuals wandering about the country in unpredictable ways.

This study, which in a similar way deals with questions regarding the coupling of "discipline" and "intersubjective assessment practices", followed Wolff and other Foucauldian scholars in their use of Panoptic principles. Their Foucauldian constructs were adapted to this study and used to traverse the networks of power relations that permeated the social body of Jill's classroom.

Another Foucauldian scholar, whose work is of particular use to this study, is Gore (2002). Gore (2002: 5) derived the following set of "coding categories" from Foucault's work, to identify the "micro-level techniques of power" in play in her study:

- *Surveillance: Supervising, closely observing, watching, threatening to watch, avoiding being watched*
- *Normalisation: Invoking, requiring, setting or conforming to a standard, defining the normal*
- *Exclusion: Tracing the limits that will define difference, boundary, zone, defining the pathological*
- *Distribution: Dividing into parts, arranging, ranking bodies in space*
- *Classification: Differentiating individuals and/or groups from one another*
- *Individualisation: Giving individual character to, specifying an individual*
- *Totalisation: Giving collective character to, specifying a collectivity/total, will to conform*
- *Regulation: Controlling by rule, subject to restrictions; adapt to requirements; act of invoking a rule, including sanction, reward, punishment*
- *Self(/r/t/s): Techniques/practices directed at the self by researcher, teacher or learner*

Gore's coding categories provided a useful framework to identify different techniques of power inherent to the extract in question. Using her framework of "codes" as a guide, a search was conducted into the practices of power in this extract. Gore's (2002: 5) respective indicators allowed for a search for the object of power, the way in which it was enacted, the direction in which it was exercised and its effects. Codes which had particular prominence in this extract were: *Surveillance*, *Normalisation*, *Distribution*, *Classification* and *Regulation*. These patterns of power are discussed below.

Surveillance

Jill's classroom activities showed that surveillance was an important part of her teaching: she used it to instruct as well as to discipline her learners. On the whole, the objects of Jill's surveillance included the learners' movement around the classroom, their participation in the respective activities, their progress and their behaviour. Jill employed several strategic positions of surveillance to manage the content of her lesson or/and the conduct of the learners. Naturally, her surveillance of her learners was meant with good intent: to achieve the smooth and efficient functioning of learning activities. Although there is the tendency to view such acts of surveillance as a natural and perhaps an indisputable part of any teacher's daily routine, further scrutiny was conducted. This was done in cognisance that power easily "tricks" one into believing that it is normal within a particular context –hence incontestable (Foucault, 1977). In view of this point, the analysis undertaken, worked carefully to reveal the mechanisms of control that came across as natural and not easily visible. The analysis provided evidence of power happening in Jill's classroom, in the ways suggested by Foucault. A discussion of these power interplays is provided below. It begins with a few prominent examples of where Jill engaged "gazes" that were consciously or unconsciously intended to produce positive effects for learning, yet subtly suggested the effects of restraint, domination and thought control. In each case, Jill's tactical position of surveillance is highlighted from an

architectural standpoint and its intended and unintended “effects” are discussed in the light of ideas about Panopticism.

It was particularly noted that Jill used surveillance as a strategy to track learners’ performance on activities. The following activities within frame D3, reflects her monitoring of learners’ progress as they were engaged in copying information from an overhead transparency. In this site, Jill appears to be engaged in the process of explaining various aspects of sentences. She says:

*Ok good. Now were going to deal with another section still dealing with sentences... we’re still dealing with sentences ...just another part of a sentence...
Ok ...so our heading today is clauses...*

*So our heading today is clauses
All you need to know today about...*

Jill’s use of words like “*ok good*”, “*so*” and “*ok*” signify her attempts to mobilize the content of her lesson. These words almost always followed visual cues from the learners: while learners copied information from transparencies, they appeared to intermittently lift their heads and make eye contact with Jill or other objects in the front of the room.

As the lesson progressed, body language cues within video material suggested that there was a structured form of surveillance in progress on Jill’s part. An example of this can be found in frame D3. In this site, Jill is observed moving around to groups where she engages in explaining aspects of the activity to the learners. This activity seems to be a follow-up to an earlier “visual” diagnosis made by Jill in the form of a brief scanning of the room. Her apparent “scan of the room”, seemed to indicate to her that certain learners did not quite understand what to do. Immediately after this she moved into certain groups and engaged in explaining aspects to individuals. During these interactions, she intermittently pointed to the over-head transparency and to learners’ notes. One got the sense that Jill’s eye-contact with random individuals or groups of learners and her

focusing on particular parts of the classroom, served the purpose of *gauging* their progress on the activity.

Prolonged “silences” were apparent during the lesson (See frames D6 and D28). These silences could be seen to represent moments in the lesson, during which Jill’s paused for the learners to finish certain tasks. It was as though she used visual cues to gauge whether the learners needed more time for the activities. The extract also suggested that Jill used visual cues to determine the learners’ *feelings* about certain tasks. For example, Jill’s instructions regarding learners’ singing during a task were met with a collective loud moan “*Oh no...*” from the learners. The facial expressions of the learners reflected a negative response to the task. Jill did not respond to the learners’ grumbles. Her body language suggested that she deliberately ignored their complaints. Understandably, the learners could have been feeling self-conscious about performing such an activity in front of the class. It was noted that, by not giving the issue further attention, Jill strategically allowed for the progression of the lesson. In another site (frame D53) we found that Jill smiled when a learner responded favourably. In this particular site, Jill visually acknowledges the learner’s responsible behaviour. The above scenarios suggest that Jill’s surveillance of the learners was aimed at gauging progress as well as diagnosing problems. She characteristically used several visual cues to engage in feedback as a mediation strategy. It could be argued that the surveillance in these discourses was productive, in that it invoked responses that were in the interests of learning.

There were suggestions within the extract that Jill used surveillance as a teaching strategy. The following frames are exemplary of this idea. In frames D20 and D21, Jill is engaged in explaining a concept to the class. She calls on a learner, Ross, to illustrate a concept. She used a style of questioning where she left spaces for the learners to complete. The cues, given to learners to complete these sentences, were verbal as well as visual. As the following excerpts suggest, each of the “gazes” produces a different effect:

D20 (Jill): ... *And we're going to be doing a task...where I give each group one of the 8, and we'll give you the task at the ...so please concentrate on each of the 8 so you know what to do...*

Ok the first one is time and this answers the question when?

When was Ross climbing the tree? (Teacher points to Ross. Her voice rose at the end as though she was waiting for a response)

D21: Teacher looks at class...

D22 (Jill): *Ross was climbing the tree in the afternoon... so the... so your answer to the question would be?*

(Teacher looks at class for response)

The above interactions suggest that Jill's "gaze" served as a signal for the learners to complete their sentences. Interestingly, the learners almost always responded in some compliant way to the "gazes".

It was apparent that Jill used her "gaze" to effect compliant behaviour from the learners. There are several exemplary instances in the lesson where Jill used surveillance specifically to deal with instruction-related discipline problems such as poor listening, failure to follow verbal directions, failure to be motivated or doing nothing, noise, restlessness and inattentiveness. In these cases, she adopted strategic positions to maximize the effect of her surveillance of the learners. This included her observation of the learners from her position in the front of the classroom or later from the periphery of their groups. A snapshot view of a scene in the lesson is provided below, as a telling example of the kind of effects that were produced by Jill's "gazes".

In frame D1, Jill stands silently in front of the class, arms folded, in an almost expressionless manner. From what she conveyed, she was waiting for the learners to settle down. During this period, she appears to maintain firm eye contact with the learners. Events within this site suggested that she invoked an efficient disciplinary response from the learners: when she made eye contact with individuals, they

immediately became quieter and made an effort to show that they were engaged in the task. It could be argued, that her proximity in the front of the classroom, as well as her formal body language, conveyed implicit messages to learners to behave in appropriate ways. The action, of their being watched, put into effect a form of compliance by the learners. Further events reflect that Jill occupied several different positions of surveillance in the class. At times she was found moving between the groups of learners, at others, she took up stationary positions either at the front or back of the classroom. In these positions, her surveillance of the learners had a powerful behaviour regulating effect. Two of these situations are discussed below.

In the one, Jill was positioned at her desk in the front of the class. Although she was preoccupied with her own activities, she maintained a surveillance of her learners. We noted that her eyes flickered often in the direction of the learners, suggesting her ongoing monitoring of them. In another site, frame D113, Jill moved between groups while she wrote in a journal. In a conversation with Jill immediately after the lesson, she explained that she used the journal to assess learners' team-working skills. She commented that this was done to satisfy the *Teacher Portfolio* requirements, as outlined by the National Departmental Assessment policy. During this activity, Jill occasionally stopped to ask questions such as: "*How are we going here?*" or "*How are we going guys?*" It was noted that when the learners realized that Jill was writing down information on them, they became quieter and more cooperative.

It appeared that the manner, in which Jill held the book, had a particular effect on the learners. When Jill wrote in the book she held it closed against herself, directing it away from the learners' view. It was observed that she did not reveal her "notes" to the learners. It was also observed that the "book" was used at strategic times. For example, whenever Jill became aware of a disruptive group, she would approach them and without saying anything, start writing in her book. It was evident at these points, that the learners immediately became quieter and more cooperative. It could be argued, that the journal's physical presence elicited a disciplinary response from the learners. One got the sense

that Jill's journal recordings were a more formally sanctioned form of surveillance, which had a powerful disciplinary effect: it rendered the learners as docile, conforming subjects.

In all of these cases, Jill's gazes (invisible as well as visible) ensured the cooperation of her learners. She appeared to use it to send out messages to learners to constrain their behaviour in accordance with the rules she put into effect by the specific gazes. It can be argued that she used her "gaze" as a technique to normalize her learners and to render them as "docile" or conforming individuals. The work of Devine-Eller (2004) is useful in understanding the contingencies of such practice. Devine-Eller draws our attention to Foucault's (1977) theme of the disciplinary society. She points to his argument that institutions regulate society through forms of surveillance: their intention is to train the body through behaviour and movements which society regards as appropriate. Devine-Eller speaks of situations of training in schools where hours are spent teaching learners rules of when and how to respond to symbols and cues in society. She highlights the idea of the training being constituted by constant practice and repetition, and how this works towards the end-product of a docile body which is respectful to societal rules.

Devine-Eller's study helps us to understand how, in certain segments of the extract, learners' responded to Jill's visual cues from constant practice and training. It was almost as though they felt obliged to "complete her sentences" or "become more cooperative" - because they do not want to be perceived as disrespectful. At these points they exercised no individual thought, only a desire to match her desired response and so gain her acknowledgement. However, not all of Jill's practices were indicative of thought control: there were many instances, when learners were given much scope to think creatively or freely. One of these situations was, for example, their work with the lyrics.

While it may seem that surveillance was used as a technology to govern the learners – there was much to suggest that it also governs Jill. The following frame (D115) is exemplary of this point. In this site, Jill informs her learners of a new assessment standard she had set for the task at hand. She says:

Guys listen, all I'm worried is about the lyrics, even if you stand out there and said your lyrics... out... I don't mind.

Although this activity started out in certain detail, it seemed to be heavily reduced at this point. In an interview, Jill explained that she changed the assessment standard because she realised that she might have been too ambitious with the earlier task and that it was too complex for her learners. She pointed out that the change she effected was “still in line” with the assessment standards as outlined by the Department in Assessment Policy documents. Jill’s flexibility and quick-thinking could be seen as commendable.

At the same time we got the sense of another concealed discourse - that of Jill’s apprehension with the complexity of the task. Perhaps this could be directly linked to the accountability Jill faced in meeting the requirements of the “Outcomes” and “Assessment Standards” (DoE, 2002) outlined in the various curricular documents. It could be argued that Jill’s earlier more “ambitious” intensions, of bringing strong learner creativity into the lesson, were detracted by a form of “external” surveillance. Perhaps Jill was aware that she was being watched and so employed techniques of self-surveillance to comply with the expectations of the possible external gaze. By adjusting and re-aligning of her aims and purposes in the activity, she conducted a form of self-surveillance. Jill’s self-monitoring or disciplinary actions upon her own body implied that she perceived of the Departmental documents as “guards” of the new assessment methodology. This self-surveillance took place without any visible factors of control, giving support to Foucault’s (1979) idea that the technologies of power, often disappear into the ideological frameworks of the institution.

The extract revealed further indications that Jill was aware of being watched. For example, during the video-recording of her lesson, Jill approached me at the back of the room and whispered “*are you getting everything, Cind?*” She then moved on to a group of learners. In a discussion that I had with Jill immediately after the lesson, she asked, “*I hope you managed to get all that group-work?*” At another point in this discussion, Jill mentioned the following:

I'm gonna be doing a huge group-work thing with drama, you'll see lots of OBE stuff... please come.

While Jill's apparent concern for my research implied her desire to cooperate with me, one got the implicit sense that it might have also had something to do with *what* was being recorded about her practices. Perhaps the hidden dimension to Jill's "concern" was her desire for me to record as much of her new assessment practices as possible. In view of the fact that I had conducted assessment workshops for staff at the same school, my presence as a possible representative of the new methodology was inherently panoptic. From this perspective, my role as "guard in the tower" of a new "will to truth" (intersubjective assessment) was a strong possibility. The idea that Jill went to lengths to "show" me that she was engaging in intersubjective assessment practices indicated that she had reconstituted herself as a conforming, successful practitioner of the intersubjective assessment philosophy.

Foucault (1980e) argues that the panopticon is aimed at the generation of self-surveillance by the people being observed within the tower. He speaks below of the precise panoptic surveillance carried out through the watching of guards by each other:

You have an apparatus of total and circulating mistrust because there is no absolute point. The perfected form of surveillance consists in a summation of malveillance (Foucault, 1980e: 158).

As Foucault puts it, the guards are not being watched only for what they do wrong; more importantly, they are being watched for what they do right. Events in this classroom support Foucault's ideas on power. Sites within the extract (in which involved Jill as well as the learners were involved) were strongly suggestive of the technology of *Panopticism*. Jill's anxiety with what I captured on video, suggested her concern with my "gaze". In this sense it could be argued that I served in turn as a "guard" of the intersubjective assessment methodology.

Distribution

In this extract, Jill used the technology of distribution extensively. It was evident in her differentiation of learners into groups, her ordering of them and in her efforts to maintain control of their activity. The extract conveyed the sense that distribution was central to the teaching-learning relationship: it was just as necessary for Jill to differentiate and order her learners as it was for her to discipline them. Jill seemed to employ distribution techniques to manage the content of her lesson and the conduct of the learners. The following scenes from the extract are exemplary of how Jill's distributing practices were meant with good intent, yet frequently produced certain undesirable effects.

The extract indicates that Jill made an effort to differentiate between individuals for their group-work activity. She invested large amounts of time, thought and effort into dividing her learners into groups. The frame, D92, shows her engaged in dividing the learners. She says:

Stian, Tula, Michael and Jessie, please- your group, (inaudible), Sarah, Jessie and um... (Points to learner) go together. Nikita, you are in another group, You three and Dianne are a group, Rees, you and Tim and Brandon and Robin are a group... And if you two don't mind going on your own (points to 2 learners) Is that OK? Unless... just hold on... how many groups is that? 1... (Counts mentally) Ok can you go on your own Callie? 8 groups...

In a further frame, D101, a similar pattern is reflected when she says:

Timothy! Right group number 1 you've got time... group number 2 you've got place... group number three... you've got reason, group no. 4 you've got purpose group no. ... 8c I didn't say you could talk...5... you've got result, group 6 you've got Condition, group 7... concession, and you 2 at the back will have comparison...

Apart from determining how the respective groups would be constituted, Jill spent time meticulously structuring and ordering the groups. As she says, "OK what I'm going to do is divide you into groups of 4 (D89). At another point, (D92) she says: "Nikita, you are in

another group". We also take note that each group's activity is specified. As she says in frame D94:

And what you need, Okay... before I give the groups each their allocated adverbial clause...what I need you to do in your group, is write a song for each one...

It was also noted that each group's movements was specified in terms of time and space: The following frames reflect this idea:

D102 (Learner): *Ma'm... can we move?*

D103 (Teacher): *OK get into your groups... if you need to move do so... grade 8's please keep your noise to yourselves...*

D104 (learners): (Learners move into groups)

D105 (Teacher): *Ok everybody start discussing that please...*

Jill's *distributing* practices came across as well-intended in the sense that they helped the learners to focus on the activity. It might be argued that distribution strategies are an indisputable part of any teacher's daily routine. However, we are aware from Foucault's (1977) work that power can "trick" us into believing that things are normal, hence unquestionable. Foucault (1979: 63) argues that institutions differentiate, discipline, and organize subjects so as to render them as efficient. He points out that the technique of power in differentiation works by the arrangement of individuals into "divisible segments" similar to military divisions. As Foucault (1979: 164) states:

The soldier is above all a fragment of mobile space, before he is courage or honour.

This extract reveals instances of power happening in the way Foucault (1979) writes. We note that Jill maintained absolute control of the decision-making in the text, excluding learners' input in terms of choice and voice in the process. The following frame, D103, is exemplary of this idea. Here Jill says:

OK get into your groups... if you need to move do so... grade 8's please keep your noise to yourselves...

In another instance, Jill's choice of words suggests her control of learners' talking when she says, "8c I didn't say you could talk." This idea is also suggested further in the text

when she says, “*I want*”, “*for me*” and “*I need*”. The use of these words emphasises her need to retain sole control of decision-making.

The above instances of power suggest that Jill uses the technology of distribution, not only to mobilize her lesson but to exercise a form of disciplinary control on her charges. We observed how her fine-tuned differentiation of learners into groups (or cells) allowed for closer supervision as well as a more individualized discipline of each learner. Jill’s cellular arrangement of the class also made surveillance more efficient: she was able to locate learners’ bodies in space and contain them there for a set period of time. Her “cellular arrangement” of groups also highlights a “guard-like” form of surveillance: any group of learners could monitor any other ensuring an efficient form of training.

Regulation

This analysis has revealed that Jill used the device of regulation with regard to learner behaviour, assessment requirements and class rules. In unveiling the technologies of regulation, focus was given to points of resistance. In other words, focus was given to the very small, below-the radar ways that the learners resisted Jill’s attempts to regulate them. The extract showed that resistance started off rather subtly with the introduction of the assessment activity, ascended to noticeable proportions during the activity, sustained its appearance for a substantial period and then gradually declined. Empirical material, which supports this formation, is presented below.

In frame D94, Jill introduced the assessment and went on to detail its requirements stating:

Now each group... Group number one, which is you four are going to have the first one which is... time! And what you need... Okay... before I give the groups each their allocated adverbial clause, what I need you to do in your group, is write a song for each one...

Learners responded negatively to the task. This was suggested both verbally and non-verbally: they said, “ohhh...”, and simultaneously reflected unhappy facial expressions. Jill moved ahead with her explanations, ignoring the obvious lack of interest shown by learners. In the following site, she repeats the requirements of the task, saying:

So you gonna come up each with a song lyrics for each one... explaining the adverbial clause... to us... you can explain it by singing examples, by singing what it means...

Jill asserts her will through an interesting choice of words: “so you gonna...” Her requests are met with strong resistance from learners: in frame D100, the class says “oh no!” in unison. One got sense from the learners’ verbal and non-verbal communication with Jill, that they were reluctant to do the task.

As the assessment activity progressed, the learners displayed more brazen forms of resistances. For example, a learner shouted out, “*I sang for my mother once.*” This comment, although random in a sense, had significance. It could be viewed as the learner’s attempt at subverting the task at hand, perhaps to play for more time, or to draw attention to the possible *difficulty* of the task. He said he sang “*once*” suggested that he did not sing as frequently as one would, if it were a simple task. In addition, he brought in the personal issue of his “*mother*”-a person whom he would feel comfortable enough to sing in front of. One got the impression, from the personalised context of the comment, that the factors of self-consciousness and self-esteem were implicated in the learners’ singing. There is clear empirical support for this point in events highlighted below.

In frames D140 and 141, Jill expresses a curiosity as to why the boys did not sing during their group’s performance. She says: “*And the boys what do they have to say?*” The boys (the two from the particular group) behaved as though they were self-conscious about singing in front of the class. They responded as follows: “*Ma’m if you see somebody smiling then you gonna also smile.*” The tension between Jill and her learners apparently grew as the assessment activity progressed. Understandably, the act of singing is highly complex and personal in nature. A task which is as personal as singing in front of a large group of individuals, who would then judge the performance, deserved a degree of

sensitivity. Jill was dealing with adolescents who had been just becoming aware of their own bodies. They might not have been confident enough to perform before the judgemental “gazes” of others.

There was much excitement that was generated by the groups of learners in creating their “raps”. Naturally such an activity would appeal to any group of teenagers. Jill was perturbed by the “disorder” the activity created. Her body language suggested that she was tense with the noise and disorder generated by the task. She was quick to regulate this behaviour. She says: “*ah ah ah ah*” (as in no, no, no...). It is ironic that she expected her learners to practice “rapping” in a quiet, subdued manner. Jill’s body language, which indicated a worried expression, suggested that she was anxious about the high noise levels. She raised her voice, shouting: “*grade 8’s grade 8’s!*” She made repeated requests for them to improve their behaviour. For example, in D107 and D109 Jill says:

Grade 8’s please keep your noise levels down... Grade 8’s your noise levels are too high!

Jill’s regulative strategies which gathered momentum with her growing frustration, started to take on an invisible character. For example she used forms of classification to elicit better behaviour. In frame D130 she says: “*grade 8’s you know that we respect other people when they are presenting*”, suggesting her view of them as disrespectful and insensitive to others. In frame D138 she calls the learners “rude”: D138 “... *uh, uh grade 8’s you being rude!*” It was significant that although there was much disorder, the learners were actually producing good work.

Normalisation

Foucault (1977) writes about the notion of *totally useful time* in *Discipline and Punish*. He speaks about the disciplinary mechanism used in schools where learners are expected to perform particular activities at particular points during their lives at school day and for particular durations. He portrays this as well used quality time. There was evidence of normalizing strategies within the discourse of this extract. These took the character of

Jill's defining of behaviour and her standardizing of aspects of knowledge and learning. It was noted that these acts of normalization were more apparent than other techniques of power particularly when the assessment activity came into the discourse. While the earlier segment of the lesson reflects acts of normalisation in overt and visible ways, during the assessment, it took on a more covert and subtle character. In all of these situations, normalisation produced effects of power which were both desirable and undesirable. The following incident is reflective of both effects.

In frames D3 and D4, Jill is found discussing with her learners what they need to do on a particular task. She says:

All you need to know today about... all you need to know at this stage about a clause is that it is a phrase... OK there's a lot of ... many different kinds of clauses... but in grade 8 all you need to know is that a clause "is a phrase that contains a verb in it..."

In the above site, Jill defines in a very precise way, what the learners needed to know at the level of grade eight. Such a strategy could be regarded as valuable to any teaching task, in that it works to ensure the breaking down of complex tasks into smaller more manageable and accessible units. At the same time, Jill's repetition of the phrase, "*All you need to know*", suggests that there is also another discourse invisibly at play. The word "*All*" suggests a total, sum or whole. It imposes a form of finality on the scope of the knowledge, leaving no room for learner involvement (in terms of choice or voice) in their own learning.

Events in the above site suggest that Jill determined the curriculum and the extent of it. She established boundaries on what the learners needed to know in terms of her subject. It could be argued that Jill sustained a power over what her learners got to know and when they were allowed to do so. From this perspective, Jill's technique of breaking tasks down into parts, operated as a form of disciplinary power. The above scenario is strongly suggestive of how normalisation attempts by the teacher, could produce both desirable as well as undesirable effects for learning.

CONTINGENCY

This analysis revealed that the technologies of power in existence at this site, often overlapped each other and occurred sequentially. It was also noted that at no stage were any of the sites free of power. For these reasons, this study finds full support for Foucault's (1977) view that power circulates and is in constant operation. This study therefore endorses Foucault's (1977: 143) concept that:

...we are always inside some disciplinary machine, always inside some net-like organization where we can be subjected to the effects of power and act as vehicles for its articulation.

The following two patterns, of how power circulated in this site, were apparent:

- 1) There was a concentration of surveillance, regulation and distribution when the element of peer-assessment was introduced into the setting; and
- 2) There was evidence of a stronger presence of normalization when the peer-assessment was introduced.

As is suggested by the above patterns, the assessment factor was intricately implicated within the discursive struggles of the classroom. It could be argued, on the basis of emerging relations in the extract, that the assessment factor actually *governed* the "splitting" ethos of the lesson. The following discussion gives focus to the power relations suggested by each discursive pattern:

1) The concentration of surveillance, regulation and distribution when the element of peer-assessment was introduced into the setting

In terms of Foucault's (1977) ideas on panopticism, architecture is regarded as integral to political power. Although Jill's classroom was not literally constructed like a Panopticon, I agree with Devine-Eller's (2004) suggestion, of how it could be perceived as similar. Devine-Eller argues that in their architectural designs, schools consider the elements of space and movement in ways that ensure discipline. As was evident in this study, Jill gave high priority to the control of space, time, and movement of learners' bodies-rendering learners as docile and submissive. Burbules' (1997) study helps us to

understand why learners in this study accepted as inevitable the idea of being observed and documented by Jill.

Burbules (1997: 4) highlights Foucault's point that the panopticon "*is not a simple physical structure, machine or spatial arrangement*" - but "*a way of life.*" He cites Foucault's idea that:

As people become more visible, the omnipresent circumstances that observe and record their lives become less visible (Burbules, 1997: 4).

The idea is conveyed that, as people accept that they are being watched, they change their habits. In intersubjective assessment practices, such as that of peer-assessment, learners are expected to understand what is inside each others' minds. A situation is presented where the personal lives of individuals become more and more controlled by the activity. Burbules highlights Foucault's argument that through panopticism, the restrictions which compromise the private spheres of individuals' lives occur most often, by agreement and with good sensible reasons. In this way they are actually more enveloping and difficult to resist. The patterns in this extract testify to this: Resistance was evident on a large scale on the entry of the "assessment" into the lesson. It escalated with the introduction of the performance task, proliferated during the first parts of the task and then died away almost completely. The resistance was perhaps a spontaneous reaction to something new, which when discouraged through Jill's persistent acts of surveillance, gave way to conformity-hence subjectification.

Foucault's work, cited in Burbules (1997: 5) highlights the paradox that "*Spaces of free action are increasingly circumscribed by restrictions on freedom.*" I agree with Burbules that this paradox is particularly reflected in the concept of 'architecture': its physical as well as social design shows relevance in terms of the structures of living. The architectural analysis of Jill's "peer-assessment" activity revealed important dimensions and limitations of human freedom: while it offered many useful uses for learning, it limited the sharing of information, the kind of knowledge that could be shared, and the communication between individuals. These ideas about learning and human freedom have important implications for our practices of intersubjective technologies.

As is apparent in this analysis, the same devices that promised new opportunities for interaction as well as the exploration and sharing of new knowledge, also facilitated larger amounts of surveillance and documentation of learners' lives. Burbules (1997: 5) raises an interesting dilemma we face in educational contexts:

One can avoid using such devices, in order to resist having our freedom compromised in one sense - but only at the expense of giving up the other kinds of freedoms and opportunities that those new technologies make available.

Burbules (1997) raises an important point for this study: Assessment that does not rely heavily on surveillance techniques, may have fewer implications for panopticism and more suggestions for freedom. However the kind of freedom suggested above may only be gained by giving up new opportunities for learning offered by the new forms of assessment.

2) The stronger presence of normalization when the peer-assessment was introduced

It was noted that there was a stronger functioning of normalization than other techniques when the assessment activity came into the discourse. Gore (2002) has found a similar finding in her study. Gore argues, from the basis of Foucault's work, that the greater functioning of normalization can be associated with the amount of "resistance" teachers receive when they attempt to introduce new teaching strategies. Gore (2000:12) cites Foucault's (1980) argument that when certain strategies are experienced strongly, they are likely to face resistance:

There are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised.

In Foucault's (1980d: 141-2) argument, we cannot escape power:

It seems to me that power is 'always already there', that one is never 'outside' it, that there are no 'margins' for those who break with the system to gambol in... To say that one can never be 'outside' power does not mean that one is trapped and

condemned to defeat no matter what.... Resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. It exists all the more by being in the same place as power; hence, like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies.

Gore highlights Foucault's view of power as productive. She sees surveillance as a *"mechanism inherent to pedagogy."*

Gore offers valuable insight for the practice of intersubjective assessment. From her perspective, we should not try to change the power relations, nor should we see such formations as negative. Her suggestion (via Foucault's philosophies) is that we should work towards a detailed understanding of power. She supports Foucault's (1980d) argument, that by gaining knowledge of fragile points in current practices, we may be able to intervene into the truths about the phenomena we are investigating (which in this case is intersubjective assessment). McNeil (2002), cited in Covaleskie (1993), adds that good teaching can be chaotic and uncontrollable. Like Gore, he believes that any attempt to control education may lead to a loss in quality of learning. He points out that efforts to control teaching often lead to defensive teaching. This he sees as teaching that sticks rigidly to the curriculum, preparing learners for tests. He believes that it drains the intellectual life out of the classroom. McNeil's ideas have significance in this study: ironically, in the case of assessment, this is exactly what the reformers began by trying to change when they opted for the "intersubjective" approach.

EMERGENCE

Foucault's insights on Panopticism have helped us to explore power in its disciplinary form. This extract has shown how Jill exercised power and was in turn acted on by power. She became part of a system where she disciplined her learners and was herself disciplined by similar forces. In McNeil's view (1993: 6), the control can be described as "two-edged"; although the teacher has control over the learner, both teachers and learners

are controlled through invisible forces. McNeil (1993: 6) cites Foucault's (1979) idea on how individuals become submissive and conforming:

Conformity is not the result of overt force that visibly bends the will of those subject to its operation; conformity results from the constant working of invisible constraints that bring us all toward the same 'normal' range of practices and beliefs.

As McNeil (1993) highlights, the subtle forces which work to may people conform are difficult to identify.

A REFLECTION ON EXTRACT "D"

The analysis of power which has been conducted through the lens of panopticism has illuminated the contradictions and paradoxes inherent to the discourses of intersubjective assessment. Although we might have presented a convincing analysis, this argument must be balanced by recognising certain restrictions. Roth (1992) advises us of the danger of being "*seduced by the Panopticon thesis and concepts of total surveillance*". Roth (1992) argues that we should not approach Foucault's work as an exclusively negative critique. He cautions our possible over emphasis of the Panopticon metaphor. His point is that teacher and learner accountability is necessary, if we wish to make progress and not repeat our mistakes. This study acknowledges Roth's point, and in its treatment of power relations, does not intentionally obscure the positive effects of the intersubjective assessment approach by emphasising its negatives.

EXTRACT "E"

NORMALISING GAZES

NARRATIVE OF EXTRACT “E”

The extract opens with Mary and her learners engaged in a pre-assessment activity. She first asks the group of learners for silence, and then tells them to take up certain positions in the drama room. She tells the learners to settle down as there is some giggling going on. Justin, one of the learners, is asked to move away from the table where he is apparently misbehaving. The class gets quieter as Justin is being scolded. Justin looks down, appearing to be upset. Mary asks the class to spread out around the drama room. She encourages them to use the fixed mirror at the back of the room to observe their own movements. She repeatedly asked the learners if they were comfortable.

Mary then proceeded with the pre-assessment activity. She informed the group that before they started the main activity, they needed to do their warm-up. She paused to put the music on. There were hushed sounds of excitement. Mary took them through a movement routine. During this activity she tells the class to refrain from laughing and to relax their bodies and minds. She found that a couple of boys at the back of the room were not concentrating. She encouraged them to work harder. She monitored their progress on the activities. She then led the group through a movement routine. The warm-up activity was constituted by several breathing and stretching routines. Mary led the movement throughout.

During the process of these routines, Mary identified a learner who was misbehaving. She called him to the front of the class. She threatened to take him to Mrs. L (the Grade Controller) if he did not improve his behaviour. She apologized to the class for the interruption and resumes the relaxation movement. She then continued with the activity wherein the learners were told to conduct certain movement sequences. She asked the learners to follow her movements as she demonstrated. There was a “cool-down” routine which followed the warm-up activity. At the end of the routine, she asked the learners if they were feeling a little more relaxed.

She then moved on to the “main” assessment activity. She picked up a faster pace for this activity. Placing the learners into groups, she asked them to spread themselves out in the room. At the beginning of this activity, she commented that the music was too loud and moved towards the front of the class to switch it off. The learners complained and asked her to leave it on. She told them that she would put it back on when they had finished their task. She explained the details of the main task. She told them that they were going to perform short dramatizations from their thematic text, Whalerider. She gave them a few examples they could model their work on. She asked them to combine these scenes with movements they had worked on previously.

Mary and the learners briefly discuss a few of the activities they had worked on together. A learner asked if they were allowed to sing as well. Mary told them that singing would have taken too long and would compromise the time for the main task. Mary explained the manner in which the task would be marked. She informed them that they all had to contribute towards the task and that all members of the group would get the same mark. She stressed that they all had to work together.

Some of the learners became noisy. Mary reprimanded them for their rowdy behaviour. She spoke in particular to Justin about the noise. He apologized for his poor behaviour. A few learners complained about the way the marks were collated in the group-work activity. They saw this as an unfair practice.

Mary moved on to discussing who would play certain parts in the scenes from Whalerider. There was some disagreement about the roles in the dramatizations as well as how these would be marked. Mary asked the learners to be more positive and reassured them that she would be sharing the task of judging the activity with them. At this point, the learners begin arguing. Mary informed them that they were wasting time arguing. She pointed to a group that was working well. She then walked to each of the groups where she listened in to conversations and made comments.

ANALYSIS OF EXTRACT “E”

“The judges of normality are everywhere. We are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the 'social worker'-judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual, wherever he may find himself, subjects to it his body, his gestures, his behaviour, his aptitudes, his achievements.”

(Foucault 1977: 304)

DESCENT

In this extract we found Mary (the teacher), engaged in assessing the learners’ dramatizations of themes from their current text. She spent a substantial amount of the lesson in a “pre-assessment” activity. She then moved into detailing the main activity, the dramatization, and the assessment requirements. By looking carefully into the extract, via three different lenses, an attempt is made to provide different perspectives of the kinds of discourses in existence. Focus is then given to the teacher-learner relationships produced. The first perspective is a *snap-shot view*; the second an *overview* and the third, a *review*.

A snap-shot view

Soothing music plays in the background. Mary's says in a gentle voice:

yes... now... no smiling... just relaxed... right now very gently... go down into a crouched position... stay there... ssh... concentrate... let all your tensions go... feel the energy come from deep within your soul... close your eyes if you like... feel the music... the rhythm...

This snap-shot view of the lesson, suggests an apparent picture of *harmony*. Mary's choice of words, tone and pace of speech are seen to work together to create a calm atmosphere. Her use of music appears resourceful, in that it enhances the mood of tranquillity in the classroom. Mary's use of imagery in the lesson is noteworthy. At one point she speaks of the learners' need to move "*like a huge Willow tree swaying in the breeze...*" At another point (for example, frame E11), she speaks of music and rhythm: "*... feel the music... the rhythm...*" In a sense, there is an *ease* or calm which is portrayed by the teacher-learner relationship. In discussions that I held with Mary, she conveyed her intentions of wanting to heighten the learners' senses as a form of preparation for their main activity.

Overview

At the beginning of the lesson Mary was engaged in a *pre-assessment activity* with her learners. During this activity, she employed several strategies to guide her group of learners into relaxing. It was apparent that she used a combination of music and voice prompts. As is evident from the frames following E15, that Mary used a controlled pitch, pace and tone of voice to guide the learners in movement. As she says:

Okay...now drop your head into your chest... feels nice on the neck... takes away the strain... sshh don't spoil it... feel the music... it's nice and soothing hey? Now let it roll side to side... from the left... good centre... right... and left centre right...

Ok sorry guys... lets get back.... you should be feeling more relaxed like this... now swing your hands from side to side... not fast or wild Jason! Gently like a huge Willow tree swaying in the breeze....

Ok most of you are getting it... now come up slowly... stretch to the sky... breather in one... two... three four... and five... lower hands slowly to your sides... there... that was good wasn't it?

Apart from using her voice in a controlled way, Mary also used “soothing” words and music. We note in further interactions that Mary asked the learners to “*empty their minds....of all thoughts.*”

The learners later embarked on an activity where they engaged in dramatizing. We got the sense that Mary was creating an environment in which the learners could use their creative energies for a forthcoming “main activity.” Another idea suggested by the activity was that Mary possibly tried to “empty” the learners’ minds so that they would be able to *process* new information without distractions. There was also the possibility of their being able to release “tension” they might have come to the class with. Perhaps Mary employed this technique to ensure that they personally *did* enjoy the activities she had planned for them. The music, which accompanied the activity, appeared to be used to assist the learners with rhythm (pace and tempo of their movement). This was suggested by the frequent requests by Mary for them to work to the rhythm or to get a “feel” for the mood suggested by the music. Note was taken of the excited responses from learners when Mary introduced the music (see frames, E9 and E10).

The extract suggested that Mary made several efforts to engage her learners in a particular sensory experience. There was a general sense that the music and movement combination was enjoyed by both teacher and learners alike. As was evident, many of the learners closed their eyes and engaged in the activity in an unreserved manner. At one point Mary was observed doing one of the tasks with her eyes closed. One got the impression that a strong element of “trust” and “care” existed between Mary and the

learners. The extract suggested that Mary had used the elements of voice, language and music to resourcefully create a harmonious and trustful environment in her classroom.

The idea, of harmony and trust between teacher and learner, pervaded the extract. As the activity progressed we gained the impression that the target of Mary's "preparation" was the learners' "inner" selves. For example, we note that Mary asks for "passion" in her learners' expressions of movement when she says the following in frame E22:

Ok now... you must use your bodies like how we did in those movements... I want to see passion... right... everything you got... no shabby stuff...

There were further references to the learners' "inner selves". This was noted from Mary's use words such as "... *energy come from deep within your soul... close your eyes if you like...*" It could be argued that Mary's consideration of learners' needs went beyond the physical level, to that of the psychological. One got the impression that she was trying to tap into energies that lay deep within the psyche of the learner.

Mary's use of space in the classroom is also strategic. In the following site (E8), she makes a request for her learners to spread themselves out in the room, saying:

That's right... now... spread out as far... as you can... come on... move... around let's fill up the room. Look in the mirror to the person behind you... ask yourself... can I move comfortably? Ok... good!

Mary's use of space suggests that she wanted to maximize on the space in the room. This was perhaps intended to allow for enhanced expressions of movement, as well as the learners' comfortable use of the space. One could argue that Mary's use of space was effective in that it produced (for herself) a more comprehensive or holistic perspective of the learners' *movement*. Mary's use of the mirror was also seen to be strategic. She encouraged her learners to use the mirror as a tool to observe and correct minute details of their movements. This strategy could also be regarded as effective: she used the mirror as a vantage point to identify movements that were out of sync.

Mary's use of creative techniques to prepare her learners, psychologically as well as physically for the main activity, was particularly noteworthy. There was an apparent

element of trust which pervaded the activities. There was moreover a clear sense of a mutual enjoyment in the activity by both teacher and learners alike. From these actions, it could be argued that Mary was cognizant of her learners “inner” and external needs (such as their use of space and time). An overview of the extract, suggested strongly that Mary used space, sound, music and teaching techniques, to create a total environment which positively affected the learners’ physical bodies, emotional moods, and mental states. A form of spiritual uplifting was suggested by her choice of activities.

Mary’s approach (as depicted above) reflects several characteristics of an “intersubjective” teaching approach. This is particularly suggested by Mary’s attempts to establish a sense of trust between herself and her learners - in accordance with Policy documentation. One of the outcomes outlined by the Arts & Culture Learning Area in the *Revised National Curriculum Statement* (DoE, 2002) is aimed at learners:

...creating, interpreting and presenting work in each of the art forms; reflecting critically on artistic and cultural processes, products and styles in past and present contexts.

The above outcome suggests a particular emphasis on the learners’ “inner” and “outer”, selves. The extract reflected that Mary was cognizant of the learners’ “needs” in her attempts to draw out the “inner” selves of learners through “outer” expressions of movement. Events in the extract also suggested that the lesson enjoyed a fair measure of success. Learners’ relaxed body positions and facial expressions generally reflected a sense of their enjoyment of the activities.

Mary’s practices could be regarded as commendable in that they reflected positive elements of the “intersubjective assessment” concept, suggested by the Arts and Culture curricular documents. However, we are aware from our readings of Foucault (1977) that an unsophisticated, simplistic depiction such as that provided above, may be a poor representation of power because it disregards the broader field in which knowledge is formed. In other words, it ignores the contradictions, ruptures and alternative positions taken by the different individuals and parties. Foucault argues that such discontinuities are influenced by their own institutions, as well as an array of external influences and

interests. He cautions us that genealogical analysis involves more than just portraying the past as historical continuity. This study acknowledges Foucault's idea that a presentation of historical unity (such as that depicted above) which has not been analyzed genealogically, is at risk of being a naive assumption. In cognisance of this insight, an attempt is made to follow Dean's (1992: 217) following advice, as cited in Kearins & Hooper (2002), for the genealogical construction of the:

...intelligible trajectories of events, discourses, and practices with neither a determinative source nor an unfolding toward finality...

DISCONTINUITY

In looking to the themes, concepts and ideas which created the discourses of this extract, a strange convergence of struggles was particularly found at the point where the "assessment" activity entered the discourse. The extract reflected that the teacher-learner relationship began, at that point, to take on an ambiguous character. When work began on the assessment activity (group-dramatizations), the learners questioned whether the activity was "*for marks*". Mary responded that the activity was for an overall group "mark". She explained the importance of the respective contributions of each of the group's members towards the final mark. She also made it clear that if individuals did not make substantial individual contributions, it would impact negatively on the whole group. As she says, "*... the whole group's gonna suffer...*" The knowledge that the task was for "marks", elicited various interesting responses from the learners.

The learners voiced several concerns about the "communal" mark. Their concern was that it was an unfair system, because some participants in a group worked harder than others, and yet they all received the same mark. Their main point of contention was voiced by the following learner. In frame E27, Bongiwe says:

Ma'm... some people in the group they... do nothing miss... and then they give us a bad mark...

Although they were vociferous about their tensions regarding the mark, in covert ways their attitude toward the task reflected a change. There was an apparent deeper engagement by most learners: their non-verbal behaviour suggested that they were working more seriously than they did before. It appeared as though their knowledge of the apparent “importance” of the activity, instilled greater effort in the task.

Understandably, some activities in the classroom *do* count for marks while others don't. It is also natural that learners would react more seriously towards those that *do* count. What made the response in this situation peculiar was the concern learners expressed about the “high-stakes” value placed (by the teacher) on the activity. In her emphasis of the final mark, Mary conveyed the impression that the object of the activity was to *measure* learning, rather than to *learn* itself. One got the sense that Mary's assessment practices were more “traditional” in character. At the same time, from her use of group-working contexts, her ideas of communal marks and communal evaluation, we got the idea that Mary was also engaging intersubjective assessment techniques. It could be argued that Mary's assessment practices were characterised by ambiguity: they reflected elements of both “intersubjective” and “traditional” assessment trends.

The extract suggested that as the lesson progressed, the ambiguity took on a distinctive overt-covert character. There was generally an overt impression created that Mary was working with intersubjective assessment methodologies. Yet, covertly, there were suggestions (particularly by her emphasis on “marks” and “scores”) that the assessments were carried out in traditional ways. The following site (frame E29) is exemplary of this trend. In this site Mary speaks about working together with her learners. As she says:

Ok... lets be positive now... no more fussing... right I'm gonna give each group a mark out of 10... but also, we... together... all of us... must decide at the end which group is the best... ok? We're all judging... not just me... so that's fair hey? Right not too much noise now... you have about 15 minutes to do this... no more...

Events within the above site convey the impression that Mary was using intersubjective assessment techniques in her teaching. She shows optimism (“*let's be positive*”),

encouragement and support (“*no more fussing*”). She also reflects an intention to *share* the role of evaluating the task with her learners (“*we... together*”, “*we all judging*”). When the learners complain about the “communal mark” it appears as though Mary is being “fair” by giving them an opportunity for *extended negotiation*. One got the sense that Mary was keen to engage in a co-participatory relationship with her learners. It could be argued that Mary’s practices were overtly democratic and true to the spirit of the intersubjective assessment philosophy.

At the same time the extract was also suggestive of other intersecting and co-implicated discourses. While the impression might have been created that Mary was engaging in intersubjective assessment practices, there were implicit suggestions that this was not really the case. From events that took place later, the impression was conveyed that Mary’s suggestion for *extended negotiation*, did not actually take place. From the discussions I had with learners regarding the actual assessment, they commented that they had not engaged in any discussion with the teacher after their performances. Understandably, as this lesson continued some time later, it was quite possible that Mary might have forgotten about the plans for extended negotiation with the learners. Despite this possibility, two particular issues come to the surface.

For one, the impression was conveyed that the learners were allocated marks without justification. From this perspective, one could argue that the recording of “marks” was the *key* object of the activity- a practice which could be seen as in conflict with the intersubjective approach. Thus, while Mary had suggested an intention of working in “co-participatory” ways with her learners, she actually sustained a traditional assessment relationship with them. This came across as a polarized relationship, in which, the “assessor” and “assessed” took on distinctive roles. An important point was brought to the surface by this analysis: the discourse of “intersubjectivity” intersected forcefully with the discourse of “marks”, throwing the former completely off course.

The other possibility raised is that Mary might have intended to create the impression that she was engaging in intersubjective assessment practices because *she* was being observed

from an external source. This was particularly suggested by Mary's verbal and non-verbal behaviour which took on a peculiar character at that point in the lesson, implying that other concealed discourses were possibly at play. It was noted that when Mary mentioned that it was not just "*her*" judgment that counted and that such practices could be perceived as "*fair*", she spoke louder and with more emphasis than she did before. Perhaps Mary spoke that way because she wanted to stress the particular point to the learners- and this would be justified. However, it was noted that Mary paused for a few seconds when she spoke to the learners about this, looking fleetingly in my direction. The glances in my direction suggested the possibility of the points being emphasised for my benefit. From this perspective, perhaps Mary's intention was to convey the outward impression that she was engaging in the new assessment approach. This could have had something to do with one of my other roles at the school. As pointed out in earlier chapters, there was a perception at the school that I was an "authority" on assessment. Mary's ideas of "sharing judgment" and being "fair", etc. could have been engaged because of my surveillance of her. The point made here is that the discourse of "intersubjectivity" intersected with the discourse of "surveillance" causing it to detract from its intended course.

Yet another side of this argument is the sheer practicality and ease of Mary giving her own mark without the extended negotiation process. This is understandable given that teachers have to work within the confines of several of the school norms in the day-to-day routines of being a teacher. Apart from the daily time-table, the teacher also has to follow a curricular schedule in the form of a "learning programme". Thus, it is quite possible that the discourse of "intersubjectivity" also intersects with the discourse of the school "norms" which deviates its course. The above discussion conveys the impression that there were several complex and oppositional discourses covertly at play with the discourse of intersubjectivity in assessment. Perhaps somewhere between these possibilities lies the 'truth'.

Events in the lesson show that the tension between these complex discourses built up to a point where they imposed an immense strain on the lesson. The emerging relations of

power suggested that the lesson took on a dual image- suggesting *discontinuity*. On an explicit level there was the suggestion of an intersubjective relationship between the teacher and learner. Yet on an implicit level, the teacher-learner relationship came across as largely traditional. The power relations that emerged and the subjects that were formed in this extract are reflective of the “*non-egalitarian*” and “*asymmetrical*” elements of power-relations Foucault (1980c: 88-89) writes about. The question of what creates the formation of “asymmetrical relations” in the extract is one that is taken into further consideration in the next section. The ambiguous character in this extract is also given focus.

CONTINGENCY

It was apparent from the analysis that both teacher and learners placed emphasis on work that scored in some way towards the examination. Foucault (1977: 176) speaks extensively about the phenomenon where schools are encouraged to talk about scores rather than learning. He views the *examination* as one of the most powerful tools of the power dynamic of *Normalisation*. For him, Normalization is one of the effects of the disciplinary apparatus found in public schools. There is a strong suggestion that power functions in *normalising ways* in this extract. To assist this analysis in illuminating the power within intersubjective assessment, *Normalisation* is employed both as a concept and an analytical tool. Foucault (1977) speaks of four key *ways* in which power functions to *normalise* individuals. These ways are used as “axes” to analyse the discourses inherent to this extract.

Firstly, Foucault (1977) argues that *space* is one of the ways we control individuals. He points out that the matter of how space is organized, who is in it, in what manner they position themselves and what they can do there, becomes the object of analysis. Foucault (1977: 141) offers the concept of “*the art of distributions*” to explore the manner and implications of the way individuals are distributed in space. Accordingly, this concept is used as an axis to analyse Mary’s use of *space* in the lesson. Secondly, Foucault (1977:

148) argued that power can be generated through “*the control of activity*”. He believed that the manner in which time was controlled could be used to mark the body’s activity in schooling. He advances it as one of the major ways of seeing how disciplinary systems work upon and within educational subjects. He suggested that it is a form of control which regulates educational environments by disciplining inappropriate uses of time. It is therefore one way to ensure institutional processes proceed without disruption. The “*control of activity*” is used as a second axis of analysis of power in this extract.

Thirdly, Foucault (1977: 156) offers “*the organization of geneses*”, as a way of determining how power marks our everyday life. In his view, this way shows us how social systems work to segregate and classify people, and to establish relationships and hierarchies. The concept, “*the organization of geneses*”, serves as a third axis of analysis of power in this extract. As a fourth way of examining power, Foucault (1977: 162) offers what he calls “*the composition of forces*”. The idea behind this concept is to move from individualistic thinking to a more institutional mindset. In other words, it explores how members of a given system are formed and moulded to an institution’s desire. Foucault’s (1977) idea of “*Composing forces*” is used as a fourth axis to analyse the power in this extract.

“The Art of Distributions”

This axis gives focus to the effects produced by Mary’s use of *space*. During the lesson Mary repeatedly asked her learners to “spread out” freely in the classroom. This technique could be perceived positively as an explicit attempt by Mary to maximize on the space in the room for better expression of movement. There is however, an implicit suggestion of another more concealed reason for Mary’s apparent “free” use of space. As we see from the following example, the idea of the learners’ spreading-out, implicitly serves to facilitate for Mary, a form of discipline of them. From her vantage point of surveillance, Mary was able to isolate learners who were behaving poorly. We found her pointing to a learner, and then instructing him to stand in front of her where he could be

supervised. She says, “*Come here (points to a boy somewhere in the back) stand....right here in front...*” The manner in which Mary uses space is efficient: it enables her to discreetly identify learners’ deviant behaviour, deal with it and prevent its recurrence.

The *mirror* came across as another important factor implicated in Mary’s use of space in this lesson. A point that was mentioned earlier is that the *mirror* seemed to serve explicitly as a tool, to assist learners in improving their movements. Further analysis of the extract showed that, on an implicit level, the mirror facilitated, for Mary, certain critical perspectives of the learners not only as a collective, but also as individuals. It enabled a discreet surveillance of learner behaviour: Mary was able to easily identify non-compliant behaviour demonstrated by the learners, swiftly act on it and regain cooperation with minimum disruption to the lesson. There is much similarity with what happens in Mary’s classroom and what Foucault (1977: 197) writes below about surveillance:

...perceived as an enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised.

In a way, it can be argued that the mirror modelled the disciplinary mechanism, turning Mary’s classroom into a panoptic site where techniques of surveillance were used to discipline the learners into becoming docile bodies. Events in this site showed that eventually the surveillance was internalized - the learners were seen conducting self-observations. Hence the key effect of the panopticon as portrayed by Foucault (1977: 201):

To induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power.

It could therefore be argued that the mirror compounded the technologies of surveillance in this site making it a part of the learners’ lives. Thus, the extract suggests the existence of a silent discourse which projected the mirror as tool of control.

It was noted that Mary’s classroom was not arranged in a manner which truly resembled a panopticon, such as for example, where desks were arranged in rows providing an

obvious surveillance of the learners. As described earlier, Mary employed a more “open” arrangement. Despite Mary’s “open” intersubjective arrangement, the analysis showed that discipline was present in this classroom. It was found to be accomplished by more subtle, covert means than in a typical teacher-directed classroom where desks are arranged in rows. Although Mary’s classroom arrangement does not come across as teacher-directed, it mutes the signs of such an arrangement. It softened the spatial routines of a teacher-directed classroom: learners’ working in groups suggested that they were not alone, but part of a larger community. The “free” and “spread out” arrangement created the impression of casual contact, yet in these spaces, talking with neighbours was regulated. It was apparent that the open arrangements of space brought into play technologies of power and knowledge as well as discipline.

The above idea is conveyed metaphorically in the extract with Mary’s leading of the learners in the “movement routine”. Frames E13 and E14 below, in which Mary is engaged in a “movement” scene with her learners, is particularly suggestive of this. In this scene, Mary says:

Right now... remain standing... ok now breathe in again... and hold... hold and out... one last time... in... mmmmm... and out... breathe in and hold and out... great.

Kay now... lift your shoulders to like here... see... hold it and... drop gently... right and drop... squeeze and drop... and one last time... this time guys... try to empty your minds out... of all those thoughts... blank... feel the tension going... going...

In this site, the *nature* of Mary’s instructions comes across as intriguing. The *finely-defined* nature of her instructions is particularly interesting: they expect high levels of self-control and self-discipline on the part of the learners. One gets the sense that individuals’ bodily movements were strictly disciplined not only from external sources (Mary), but also on internal or personal bases (learners themselves). It could be argued that, the arrangement of bodies in space was executed with the intention of bringing into play technologies of power and knowledge, as well as technologies of discipline.

However, by virtue of the fact that she is a teacher, Mary needed to be observing her learners at all times in the classroom. She needed them to be in positions where she could monitor their movements and so gauge whether they were doing things properly. It was only by observation, that she was able to diagnose problems and put into place certain remedies. Although Mary's choices for the use of space offered multiple vantage points for her observation of her learners, these were used for the benefit of the learners. This is further suggested by the apparent element of trust, which was seen to exist between Mary and her learners. The fact that the learners were highly cooperative and the lesson did meet with a fair measure of success, also suggests that Mary used space productively in the lesson.

“The Control of Activity”

This axis looked at the power generated during the lesson through the control of time. It was observed, by the nature of the activities undertaken, that Mary managed time in an almost casual way. There was an explicit impression created (by the creative element inherent to the activities) that Mary employed a more “open” concept of time. However, on deeper analysis of the extract we found subtle indications (in the form of tone, pitch of voice and accompanying body language) that the *pace* of the lesson was determined and strictly controlled by Mary.

Events within the extract, such as that in frame E16 below, are strongly suggestive of this. In this scene Mary says:

Right... (Clapping)

Get into your groups (picking up pace)... chop- chop... and you know that the more time you take to do this... the less time you'll have to do the fun bit...hey? So quickly now...

Through Mary's act of “clapping” and her sudden change in pitch and pace of voice, she literally switched learners' moods from a state of calm to a state of urgency. In another

situation, Mary created the impression that if the learners took too long with one activity, they would compromise their own time on the later “fun” activities. As Mary says in frame E16:

You know that the more time you take to do this... the less time you'll have to do the fun activity...

The impression was conveyed, that Mary held the reign on the learners’ emotions.

In a subtle way, Mary was found to be putting pressure on the learners to work faster. This suggested that an implicit form of control was existence within this relationship. Understandably, Mary was moving into more important parts of the lesson where her control and manipulation of time, such as that in evidence in the text, was necessary. At the same time, we are cognizant that Mary used the “fun” element of the forthcoming work as an incentive to motivate learners’ progress on the activity. Learners were found to have responded well to this incentive: they worked faster and managed to complete the tasks within the allocated time-frame. Without realizing it, learners put pressure on themselves to hasten their activity. Mary’s manipulation of time in this case came across as having being done for the benefit of learning.

There are other situations however, where Mary’s use of time could be seen as having discouraging effects for learners. The following scenes from the extract, is exemplify this idea:

Frame E22

(Mary): *No... I'm not talking about the group movement... the individual ones... where I told you the movement and you guys copied...*

(Learner): *Ma'm... can we sing too?*

(Mary): *no... no singing... that takes too long... just keep it to movement and speaking... right! Ok?*

(Learner): *Miss... Miss like we all do a part?*

In this scene, Mary’s decision regarding a learners’ request to sing, raises several important issues. Mary’s response to the request shows that she was not in favour of the singing on account of it taking too long. Although this may be regarded as a very

practical response by Mary, there is the sense that more was happening in terms of power.

To assist in unearthing the possibly deeper relations of power inherent to this site, Fasko's (2001) ideas are utilised. Fasko provides insight on different teacher-learner relationships and their effect on creativity. As he writes:

When learners understand that their teachers 'value' creativity, then this message has a positive effect on creativity... (Fasko, 2001: 323)

Fasko (2001) believes that if teachers prioritise external rewards, learners' individual expression could be undermined. His point is that *extrinsic motivators* may be counterproductive in some instances. Fasko's argument is that teachers are instrumental in shaping their learners' individuality. From Fasko's (2001) perspective, Mary's approach could be seen as discouraging of learners' creative expression. Her response perhaps conveyed the impression to learners that their novel ideas were not welcome in her classroom. This might have discouraged any further "risk-taking" on their part.

At the same time, we are cognizant that, unavoidably, Mary needed to put into place necessary boundaries on activities so that her lesson could be finished within the given time-frames. Mary's judgment on the matter was apparently vital and necessary. It is intrinsic to any teacher's work in the classroom to prioritize certain tasks over others given the tough time constraints that any teacher has to work with in his/her day-to-day management of activities in the classroom. Apart from working within broader time-frames, the teacher also has to work within the boundaries of a school time-table. Foucault (1977: 149) writes the following about the concept of the *time-table*:

Power's three great methods—establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition—were soon to be found in schools, workshops and hospitals.

Foucault writes of this discourse as necessary to any school's organization and efficient functioning. He points out that schools discipline inappropriate uses of time as a way to ensure that their schooling processes progress without interruption.

Events within this and other extracts suggested that the school *time-table* had a defined influence on Mary's, as well as the learners' lives. The following snap-shot of daily events at "C" High School, is suggestive of the manner in which the entire school day was constructed to regulate the movement, gestures and speech of the learners as well as the teacher. The time-table was found to regulate the learners' as well as Mary's movements in distinctive ways. At "C" High School, learners were gathered in "grades", where they were further categorised (for example, grade 8 "b"). They moved from lesson to lesson according to "learning Area" slots. The learner movement was found to be regulated: a bell was sounded to denote the beginning and ending of the class session. At this sound, learners rapidly gathered their possessions and moved, in rows, to the next subject. Teachers in this school went on "ground" or "corridor" duty to ensure the learners' safe and efficient use of "free" time. Thus, with Foucault's help, we have come to understand the subtle way in which the time-table *marks* the body's activity in schooling. An important point for this analysis is implied: the discourses of control associated with the time-table were deeply implicated within the discourses of assessment.

"The Organization of Geneses"

The "*organization of geneses*" (Foucault, 1977: 156), is used in this discussion as a third axis of analysis. In earlier discussions, the impression was conveyed that Mary was highly considerate of her learners' individualities. The activities she embarked on conveyed the sense of her search for their deeper creative involvement in the lesson. There were many sites which suggested that there was a form of trust established between her and the learners. Although on the surface the general character of Mary's teaching may have suggested that she was working intersubjectively, there were also many subtle indications, which suggested otherwise. One got the sense from these indications that she might have actually created hierarchical relationships with her learners.

The frames from E31 to E36 are illustrative of such tensions. In this site, the learners were found to be excitedly making decisions on their roles in the dramatization of scenes from the text, *Whalerider*. One of the learners, Jess, appeared to be enthusiastic about playing the lead role in her group. She excitedly tried to get Mary's attention, so that she could express her wish to play the lead role. Jess says excitedly in frame E30:

Ma'm... can I be Paikea? Please ma'm?

As the events in frame E31 depict, Mary chose Stacy, saying:

She's read that part well in class... for this group...

The rest...-you can be the villagers or the class-mates... depending on which part you gonna use for your play...

Another learner, Shaun, makes the following comments:

Jess you can be one of the boys!

To this Jess replies:

One of the weaklings... no ways, I like to Paikea... she's like so powerful...

Shaun's reply is:

Well you can't cos miss wants Stacy!

Jess says:

Oh shut up! You always so mean... you should be the mean grandfather... suits you...

Mary intervenes (frame, E36) saying:

Hey... stop it you guys! Come on... you're wasting time... if its not ready ...no marks! Simple...

When Mary selected Stacy to lead the class in its performance, it could be seen as though she was constraining the involvement of the other learners. With a single word, "*Stacy*", she was able to modify the class's actions: some would speak as main characters; others would be background voices. This act brought into play relations between Mary, Stacy and her fellow classmates who were seen as destined to play "villagers". In terms of Fasko's (2001) argument, Mary's decision of not allowing Jess to read could be seen as an act of constraining Jess's individuality. Yet, at the same time we see how such power is necessary to the goals of Mary's lesson. Mary, who naturally possesses an in-depth

knowledge of her learners' capacities, skills, strengths and weaknesses, utilizes it for greater productivity in her lesson. Her suggestion for Stacy to take the leading role is probably because she knows that this learner has the capacity to do justice to such a role. While it appears that the relationship between Mary and Jess produces an effect of judgment and exclusion, we are cognizant that it is intrinsic to a teacher's role to make such judgments. This is an inescapable and inseparable part of a teacher's day-to-day work in the classroom.

In Mary's role-playing dramatisation, she invited her learners to identify with the subject matter of the knowledge they learnt. Learners were encouraged to see themselves in the subjects they were learning. For example Paikea is perceived as a "*powerful*" character and the boys in the play as "weaklings". By doing this we see how in the intersubjective way, open-disciplinary techniques are not necessary- learners' self-construction and self-surveillance does this work.

The extract was also indicative of hierarchies the learners created amongst themselves. Events within frame E32, (depicted above) were particularly suggestive of this idea. In this site, Jess is told by Shaun that she should play the role of one of the boys in the village. Jess is adamant that she would like to play the role of *Paikea* instead. An important question that arises is why Jess was so desperate to play *Paikea* instead of a villager? Perhaps it was because she wanted to be the one in front of the class controlling the actions of the group. She was possibly not satisfied with the less important role of being a participant who engaged only in background chatting. These ideas suggest that, in delegating others to subordinate roles, learners may have also contributed to the uneven distribution of power.

The physical position Mary adopted in the classroom was also suggestive of the existence of hierarchies. It was noted for example that during the assessment activity, Mary walked around the room from group to group, listening into activities, making comments and suggesting ideas. In a subtle way, her role remained quite external. It could be argued that she opted to circulate among her groups of learners surveying their work, instead of

joining in the fun with them in an equal power relationship. Whereas she may have entered the drama world of the learners, she preferred to place herself in a greater position of power.

One could argue that Mary's mode of surveillance was a means of hierarchical judgment and an unnecessary exercise of power. Another situation of hierarchies was apparent in the scene where the learners were sitting down in a circle, with Mary standing above them. The learners' "lower" position suggested their insubordination to Mary. She stood above them in a suggested position of authority. Furthermore, the "circular" seating position suggested a greater surveillance of themselves and them by her. In a subtle way, Mary constructed a position of power relative to her learners- that of being "higher" than them.

The above analysis has indicated the manner in which the social system of Mary's classroom may have worked to segregate and classify learners, to establish relationships and hierarchies. We acknowledged that such relationships of power are perhaps a natural part of any classroom and vital to one's role as teacher. Styslinger (2000) offers an argument which may help us to see why it is necessary for Mary to employ hierarchical strategies. His work shows the contingencies of different relationships of power in the classroom. He argues that, in an "equal to" or "lower than" position of power, teachers are seldom the ones possessing the knowledge. As "one of the gang" they must be humble, flexible, cooperative, and receptive. In such positions they may only offer possibilities, not direction or judgment which must be accepted. Styslinger sees this as a liberatory role- one which advocates active learning, meaning making, collaborative engagement, problem solving, and multiple interpretations.

Although the liberatory or "equal to" role is desirable, one may see that it is one that may be impossible to attain, given the necessity for the teacher to provide direction and judgment to learners. Mary takes on the "higher" role more to provide direction than because she is fearful of the loss of power which can come with co-participatory roles. There were many situations within the extract which showed Mary guiding her learners

from positions “external” to theirs. This point is vital in terms of the concept of Intersubjectivity. Intersubjectivity suggests a state which depends on a reciprocal flow of communication. From the discussion above, it would seem that a true, communicative dialogue with equal giving is almost impossible to attain.

“Composing Forces”

In Foucault’s (1977: 162) perspective, the central thrust behind “composing forces” is to move from individualistic thinking to a more institutional mindset. He questions how members of a given system move and function in the most efficient way. He argues that this happens through members helping to form and mould others, to the institution’s desire. Foucault (1977: 165) says:

The complex clockwork of the mutual improvement school was built up cog by cog; first, the oldest learners were entrusted with tasks involving simple supervision, then of checking work, then of teaching, in the end, all the time of all the learners was occupied either with teaching or with being taught.

There is much to suggest that power functions in this way in the context of Mary’s lesson. The following frames are vital to this argument.

In this site (frame E26), Mary and the learners were engaged in the dynamics of their respective dramatizations. When questioned by a learner as to whether the activity counted for marks, Mary responded that she was going to give them a mark they would share as a group. As she says:

Yes... the whole group gets the same mark... like if Sharn’s group gets 8 out of 10, then everybody there gets 8... so if you guys don’t pull your weight in the group, the whole group’s gonna suffer...

The learner immediately complained about the “unfairness” of the group getting a collective mark, given that there might be varying levels of commitment from members. Mary expressed her intention to negotiate later with the learners about the “communal” mark. It was noted that this “plan” did not materialize and Mary seemed to have recorded

the “communal” mark as final. The possibility, of other hidden forces being at play in this site, is considered below.

In terms of Fasko’s argument, by awarding every member of the team the same mark, Mary devalued learner individuality. This point suggests that learners were not allowed to work according to their individual strengths- they had to match and perhaps beat the standards set by others. From this perspective, Mary’s actions may have inhibited learners’ development by ignoring their needs to assert and construct their own meaning of their experiences. While we might be inclined to believe that Mary manipulated the learners into conforming to the institution’s objectives, we are also aware that Mary could not allow learners’ individuality simple free play. By virtue of her role as a teacher, she had to work from learners’ individualities into what ever it is she was teaching. The very act of teaching imposes some form of knowledge on the learner, even when done in the easiest and friendliest of ways.

One could also conceive that Mary was more concerned with “measuring” the product of the learners’ performances than the actual processes of learning involved. Understandably, it is difficult for teachers to achieve a pedagogic balance between the two aspects in the face of educational systems which emphasise *marks* (Black and William, 1998). We have pointed out earlier that it is very hard for teachers to reconcile these two very different requirements in any balanced way because it involves higher stakes (Broadfoot, 1996). As Broadfoot explains, the demand for accountability, for certification and selection, for hard evidence, appears to take priority over the idea that assessment should promote learning.

In agreement with Broadfoot (1996), events in this extract reflect that practically the entire activity was geared towards Mary’s documentation of learners’ marks. Opinions in the literature argue that documentation is regarded as one of the strongest forms of individuation in the sense that they record children’s progress against set norms (e.g. Ford, 2003). The argument posited is that whilst learner records are seen as important in the school as a basis for inclusion, they are also a basis for exclusion. Foucault’s *The*

Order of Things (1970) depicts classification as a systematic form of power. In speaking of disciplinary mechanisms he includes the idea of classification markings to establish social control. As Foucault (1977: 159) argues below, in education, this kind of progression is highly regulated:

It is this disciplinary time that was gradually imposed on pedagogical practice—specializing the time of training and detaching it from the adult time, from the time of mastery; arranging different stages, separated from one another by graded examinations.

Foucault's work quoted above, emphasises the role of disciplinary mechanisms in marking individuals' progression through institutionalized spaces. From Foucault's perspective, we get the sense that Mary's role was influential in ensuring that the institution's goals were achieved.

At the same time we found Mary to be subjected to external forces which she may not have intended nor realized she was a part of. This analysis has therefore also shown the significance of further ideas of Foucault (1978). Foucault (1978: 94-95) writes paradoxically that:

...power relations are both intentional and non-subjective...

This idea has salience in this study: the power Mary thought was being exercised had an excess of ambiguous effects. At the times these supported and at other times undermined her goals.

EMERGENCE

By analysing power along the different "axes" suggested by Foucault's (1977) work, the impact of the effects of normalisation and subjectification have been highlighted. Through the axis of "the art of distributions", we came to see how Mary organised space; *who* was in it; in what manner they positioned themselves and what they could do there. The axis of "the control of activity" (Foucault, 1977: 148) facilitated awareness of the manner in which *time* was used to regulate *what* could be done, and *when*. With respect

to the intersubjective classroom; space and time could be seen to exchange an obvious disciplinary gaze for more subtle strategies of purpose. Here function replaced authority as the overt marker of power.

In our use of the third axis, “the organization of geneses” (Foucault, 1977: 156), we gained insight into the strategies Mary employed to classify her learners, establish relationships and hierarchies. The analysis found several examples of subjectification. From the events and relationships established, the analysis showed that the more the learners identified with their classroom selves, the clearer the authority of the classroom organisation functioned. We also see how Mary worked, through techniques of self-surveillance, to construct her own subjectivity as a conforming body.

In her attempts to “display” her knowledge of intersubjective principles to me, Mary monitored her own subjectivity as a progressive teacher practicing *assessment* in the way the institution expected her to. Foucault’s (1977: 35) words capture this power dynamic:

He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection.

By means of the fourth axis, “the composition of forces” (Foucault, 1977: 162), we saw the work of multiple disciplinary practices in this classroom. We also saw how Mary helped to shape learners to the institution’s desire of conforming bodies. In this case as well, subtle subjectivizing strategies could be seen in place of obvious disciplinary strategies. This axes also found evidence that purpose replaced authority as the explicit marker of power.

This extract has implicitly shown the working of *normalization* in Mary’s classroom. Among other disciplinary means, learners were “externally” segmented into precisely timed classes by the school’s time-table. The arrangement of Mary’s classroom also remained implicitly hierarchical: from her “externalized” position, we saw her regulate activities in time and space. We also saw her regulate learners’ access to “free” inner

space or their individuality. Furthermore, we noted that Mary's assessment procedures privileged marks directing them more towards the examination, than towards intellectual nourishment. Thus without their realizing this, the teacher and the learners were working efficiently together towards a target. From Foucault's (1977) ideas of Normalisation, we are aware that this "target" is the "training" of learner bodies where they are slowly moulded into figures that become the docile bodies' schools need in order to be productive. It would appear from Foucault's ideas that the control is about making Mary and the learners, as members of the institution, function as a machine—a well-organized and precisely fluent process that repeats and regenerates itself.

Importantly, this analysis has found support with Foucault's argument that normalisation is at its most powerful when its exercise of power is veiled (Foucault, 1977). As we recall from the analysis, the idea of harmony and trust between teacher and learner pervaded the extract. We saw how Mary's use of space, sound, music and teaching techniques created a trustful, co-participatory and harmonious relationship between them. Yet, implicitly, it was the combination of each of these elements which created the "total" environment that was used to discipline or "train" them.

It was apparent from the analysis that discipline occurred through the actions of the Mary and her learners in self-surveillance. Foucault finds the "disciplined self" problematic because discipline cuts off the ability of the individual to see choices that have been closed off. Pignatelli (1993: 412) conveys this as the:

...omnipresent threat to freedom, self-normalizing practice ... [is] our willingness to accept and internalize questionable limits on what we can know about ourselves...

Both Mary and the learners were rendered docile and productive by their power relationships (1977: 136). As Foucault (1977: 167) projects below, they become politically and economically useful by the use of "tactics":

...mechanisms, in which the product of the various forces is increased by their calculated combination, are no doubt the highest form of disciplinary practice.

Foucault (1977) writes extensively about the need for the institution to recreate itself in its own disciplined image as a powerful way of maintaining order. He uses the metaphor of machinery to speak of how bodies are trained in schools to become the docile bodies that are needed later in order to be productive. He sees educational subjects as being the products of institutionalized practices. In other words, bodies metaphorically taped and shaped in the classroom by social and pedagogical pressures.

The destructive aspect of this disciplinary process, as Foucault (1977: 184) argues below, is how the individual becomes at the same time “homogenized” and “re-individualized”:

In a sense, the power of normalization imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialties and to render the differences useful by them one to another. It is easy to understand how the power of the norm functions within a system of formal equality, since within a homogeneity that is the rule, the norm introduces, as a useful imperative and as a result of measurement, all the shading of individual differences.

By *homogenous* Foucault means “normal”, and by the *re-individualized* subject he means an “obedient” subject, who:

...acquires, through disciplinary operations, an assortment of partitioned object ranks or stations (Pignatelli 1993: 413).

This idea has relevance in this extract. Learners were normalised by Mary in the sense that they lost their individuality. At the same time, this analysis does not intend to blame Mary for her actions or to speak poorly of her. Foucault (1977) acknowledges that teachers’ work is challenging and stressful. We appreciate Foucault’s point that, even under the best of circumstances, teachers should be more alerted to the subtle lessons that may be learnt by spending so years in regimented classrooms.

In urging teachers to be aware of discipline in their practices, Foucault does not mean to suggest that we should reject normalisation across the board. Fiske, who is cited in Ford (2003: 36), explains this warning in his article, “Bodies of Knowledge”:

No one would want to live in a totally undisciplined society, if such an oxymoron could actually exist. The conflicts, when they occur, are over the points of control where discipline is applied, not over the disciplinary system itself.

The issue of *where* and *how* discipline is applied is vital. What we must observe is how the effects of power narrow the possibilities of discourse and/or obscure its boundaries.

A REFLECTION ON EXTRACT “E”

This analysis has revealed that the assessment practices inherent to the extract consistently took on an ambiguous character. On the surface the assessment practices were “intersubjective” in nature, yet were found to be implicitly “traditional” in their characteristic emphasis on *measurement*. Contingent to this, there were subtle subjectivizing and normalising strategies that continually diverted the course of intersubjective assessment. What was interesting was that the apparent “intersubjective” exterior, served as a *veil* to substitute the obvious disciplinary strategies of traditional assessment. Foucault is cited in Sheridan, (1990: 154) enlightening us on the idea that power relations work in the interests of normalization:

As power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualized; it is exercised by surveillance rather than ceremonies, by observation rather than commemorative accounts, by comparative measures that have the "norm" as reference rather than genealogies giving ancestors as points of reference; by "gaps" rather than by 'deeds'.

Foucault’s (1977) ideas on *Normalisation* have helped us to understand why the practice of collecting and documenting marks is given high priority by schools.

Foucault writes that for education, “measures” have an important role to play in this process of normalization. He points out that it is the task of the examination to *remake* the individual. In the case of this extract, the examination was seen as powerful because it symbolised a form of authority rather than for what it justified. Through Foucault’s ideas we have been able to see how the examination reverses power relations- the measurement

displaces the self, and measuring becomes the project of school. We can see how complex matters become when policymakers (and others) use these measurements to determine how well a teacher teaches and assesses, how well learners learn, and the quality of a school.

Foucault's (1977) work offers a way forward for intersubjective assessment. This is found through his notion of "*power as a relation*." He argues that it is one's responsibility to be aware of one's positioning in relation to others and in relation to structures. This study argues for the usefulness of this perspective for the practices of intersubjective assessment. It implies for this study a view of the self as engaged, open to possibilities, being mindful of hidden possibilities, and maintaining vigilance against oppressive power relations in assessment.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This part of the dissertation reflects on the study as a whole. It is constituted by three sections, in which an attempt is made to look back on the insights gleaned from the genealogical analysis of the five extracts in relation to the aims and objectives of the study. It identifies the “subjugated knowledges” or “points of domination” in intersubjective assessment. These are perceived as moments of discontinuity in the knowledge of intersubjective assessment. The aim is to highlight the “buried” (suppressed and oppressed) voices within the discourse of intersubjective assessment.

SUBJUGATED KNOWLEDGES

This genealogical analysis has unearthed an intricate picture of struggles regarding the notion of intersubjective assessment. There was the strong impression conveyed that both teachers struggled to embrace a new subjectivity of intersubjective teacher. Some of the conflicting subjectivities that were implicated within this discourse, were the teachers' having to deal with learners' resistances to the new intersubjective methodologies with sensitivity, tolerance and the spirit of nurturing, while still having to provide rigorous accounts of marks to internal and external bodies. In their practices of intersubjective techniques the teachers found the power relations too extreme, rejecting them for practices in which they secured dominance over the relationship between themselves and their learners. The sense was conveyed that both teachers opted for the familiarity and safety of their traditional roles.

The teachers' and learners' resistance to intersubjective practices could be linked to micro and macro- factors. On the micro-level, learners experienced the new and strange practices of teaching and assessment against the background of familiar traditional practices. They were also found to be the objects of the power at play in the schools' "order mark system". On a macro level, both teachers were constituted as agents who enacted the state's policies of governance. This was particularly reflected in the strong discourse of performativity, which pervaded the discourse of intersubjective assessment. The following discussion shows that this discourse was intricately intertwined within all of the extracts

In this study, both teachers "composed performances" of intersubjective assessment to satisfy certain forms of accountability. In extract "A", we noted that Jill employed intersubjective methodologies primarily as a form of *window dressing*. While she started out "using" intersubjective techniques of teaching and assessment, she subsequently abandoned them for traditional assessment practices. The sense was conveyed that she used the "examination" and what it authorised, as a tool to help her sustain and maintain learner interest in the lesson. One of the contingencies was the risk Jill experienced of

losing control of her learners as well as the lesson, when using intersubjective assessment techniques. Another factor contingent to Jill's putting up of "performances" of intersubjective assessment, was my presence in the classroom. Jill's actions suggested that she wished to be perceived as progressive and in favour of change. These contingencies were traced to covert and overt "expectations" of assessment suggested by policy documentation.

The discourses within extract "B" reflected a concerted effort by Mary to "nurture" her learners into the new culture of intersubjective assessment. We bore witness to the frustrations she experienced from her learners' reluctant responses to her lesson. We noted her subsequent rejection of intersubjective assessment modes for traditional methods of assessment. Even though she appeared to be practicing assessment in traditional ways, at the same time, she made many attempts to "show" that she was engaging in the intersubjective methods and techniques suggested by Assessment Policy. Her verbal and non-verbal "displays" seemed to have been constructed for the judgement of audiences such as the principal, head of department, or me. In this analysis, *governmentality* was a strong factor of contingency. It was manifest in the "games of strategy" utilized by the State to make teachers *govern* themselves. This extract showed the forces of governing being channelled strategically through the discourse of accountability in Policy documents. It was argued that the pressure to conform to State expectations, led to Mary's putting up of appearances where she indicated that she was doing her job in the way that was "expected".

The analysis of extract "C" found indications of the teacher employing assessment in an intersubjective way. However, in concealed ways, her assessment came across as being focused on "marks". Accountability was again a factor of contingency. The analysis showed that intersubjective assessment activity was "forced" into the lesson to satisfy external and internal "gazes". I argued that "internal gazes" were constituted by my presence as observer in the lesson. Jill's need to reflect her receptivity to new assessment practices was invoked by my "gaze". It was suggested that there was an external gaze constituted by the accountability Jill faced in terms of State regulations. A key point was

that the intersecting “gazes” of accountability created tension in terms of how Jill managed her role in assessment.

Extract “D” reflected many characteristics of panopticism. The analysis unearthed situations where Jill’s “supposed” intersubjective practices in assessment reflected a concealed traditional character. This was suggested by her excessive concern with the factors such as the control of space, time and classification. There was a strong suggestion that the “intersubjective” performances in assessment were constructed for the purposes of my judgement. We got the impression that Jill wanted to make the recording exercise as useful as possible for me. Implicitly, Jill’s concern for my work also had something to do with *what* I recorded about her practices. I argued that, Jill’s efforts to “show” me that she was engaging in intersubjective assessment practices, indicated that she reconstituted herself as a conforming, successful professional to the intersubjective assessment philosophy. From this perspective, my panoptic role as “guard in the tower” of a new “will to truth” (intersubjective assessment) came across as a strong possibility.

The analysis of extract “E” revealed that the assessment practices consistently took on an ambiguous character. While it appeared on the surface as though the assessment practices were “intersubjective” in nature, the analysis found them to be implicitly “traditional” by their characteristic emphasis on *measurement*. Contingent to this, there were subtle subjectivizing and normalising strategies that continually diverted the course of intersubjective assessment. The apparent “intersubjective” exterior was used by Mary as a *veil* to substitute the obvious disciplinary strategies of traditional assessment. One got the sense that intersubjective displays were constructed to satisfy the expectations of an observing “gaze”.

The literature refers to the practice of composing performances as a “Performativity discourse” (Jeffrey, 2002; Ball, 2003). It would seem that a performativity discourse is not an unusual phenomenon in the teaching and learning context. The literature acknowledges the *performativity* discourse that “*currently pervades teachers’ work*” (Jeffrey, 2002: 1). Ball (2003: 222) speaks of these “performances” as acts of teachers’

game-playing, cynical compliance, or “*enacted fantasy*.” He suggests that such constructed performances are displayed for the benefit of external judgement. Ball (2003: 224) points out below, that they may not always be far from the truth:

Fabrications are not ‘outside the truth’ but neither do they render simply true or direct accounts—they are produced purposefully in order ‘to be accountable’. Truthfulness is not the point—the point is their effectiveness, for inspection or appraisal, and in the ‘work’ they do ‘on’ and ‘in’ the organization.

One can see the relevance of the ideas on performativity, in this study: both teachers put into place certain measures to satisfy forms of accountability. At many points, the teachers’ assessment “performances” complied at face value with intersubjective expectations of Assessment Policy Documents. The sense was conveyed that the teachers put up performances in order to gain a favourable evaluation of their practices, from external bodies.

Lyotard (1984: 46), who has written extensively on the concept of *performativity*, speaks about it operating in conjunction with a “market discourse”. He argues that society is “obsessed” with competency and efficacy which operates in terms of an “input/output ratio” (Lyotard, 1984: 88). His point, which is captured below, is that schools, like businesses become open to judgement in terms of their outcomes and performance:

...the goal is no longer truth, but performativity - that is, the best possible input/output equation. The State and/or company must abandon the idealist and humanist narratives of legitimation in order to justify the new goal: in the discourse of today’s financial backers of research, the only credible goal is power. Scientists, technicians and instruments are purchased not to find truth, but to augment power.

In Lyotard’s (1984) view, teachers often produce ‘evidence’ of their efficiency to meet with external demands or expectations. Such “productions” are often responses to coercion attempts that work through overt and covert forms of surveillance (Lyotard, 1984: 63–64). In terms of the overt forms of coercion, he points us to the monitoring of data by the Government. Covert coercion is characterised by implicit expectations put

into place to regulate teachers. Ball's (2000: 2) work quoted below conveys this as a "game" with certain implicit rules:

There is not so much, or not only, a structure of surveillance, as a flow of performativities both continuous and eventful. It is not the certainty of being seen that is the issue. Instead it is the uncertainty and instability of being judged in different ways, by different means, through different agents; the 'bringing-off' of performances—the flow of changing demands, expectations and indicators that make us continually accountable and constantly recorded.

Ball conveys the idea of performativity as dependent the performance and the ways performances are interpreted.

The Performativity discourse unveiled by this analysis has relevance to the ideas about power Foucault conveys in the lecture entitled, *Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of Political Reason* (1981). In this lecture Foucault (1981: 227) writes about the notion of "pastorship" by the state. He refers to the idea of "police" - indicating the apparatuses of security that are employed as "governmental techniques of the modern state" (Foucault, 1981: 250) He discusses the role of pastoral power as a technique which is subtly diffused throughout society with the intention of improving lives (Foucault, 1981: 235).

The metaphorical idea of "policing" by the state was manifested in this study, by the forms of accountability it imposed on participants in the study. Accountability, in the form of covert and overt external expectations from the state and the school, was a strong factor of contingency in this analysis. Expected records of marks, expected norms for learner and teacher conduct, expected exemplifications of assessment competence (e.g. portfolios, examinations, etc.) were found to impact on Mary and Jill's intersubjective assessment practices with "dangerous" effects. One of these included the question of pedagogical authenticity—the "performances" made it difficult to determine 'real' assessment of learning. Another was the question of whose expectations being prioritised- those of the learner, the teacher, or those of the state?

Foucault's idea of "pastorship" by the state is a complex matter particularly within the South African assessment context, where *accountability* and *visibility* are perceived as highly valued discourses. Within the new curriculum C2005 in the South African context, The Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002) holds teachers accountable to meeting assessment criteria and learning outcomes, pursuing a performance assessment framework and rigorously documenting marks. As we have noted in earlier discussions (see Chapter One), the prevailing discourse in intersubjective assessment is its emphasis on more *visible* performances of learning (DoE, 2002).

One can understand South Africa's need for more observable or noticeable forms of evaluation. Perhaps such a system serves as a means of aligning education to the ideals for greater transparency. While the previous assessment system might have been covert in character, there is the impression conveyed, that by adopting a more "public" approach regarding learner performance and decisions relating to its quality, assessment would become more productive. We emerge with the idea that in the new South African Assessment approach, accountability, has noble pedagogic intentions and its policies are widely accepted. We appreciate that stronger forms of accountability are needed to stabilise the current unsteady ground of the South African Assessment system. In this case- teachers' meeting of expectations is necessary to the goals of learning. However, it is when "meeting expectations" happens at the expense of "real" learning, that one becomes concerned.

One gets the sense that the actual complexity of intersubjective assessment is backgrounded in the many petty and detailed practices in and around it. Some of these include, the conflicting subjectivities on the part of both teachers and learners; the impact of the school's order mark system on intersubjective assessment; the impact of oppositional discourses in existence beneath the surface of schooling life; the panoptic hold those in power have over individual bodies, and the extent to which normalizing practices, both from sources external and internal to the school, impact on intersubjective assessment practices.

ETHICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE RESEARCHER IN THE CLASSROOM

Bogden and Biklen (1992) argue that the protection of subjects from harm is among one of the key ethical concerns in qualitative research. A central ethical question that arose during this study was that of how to avoid invading learners' privacy through my presence in their classroom. Writers such as Burbules (1997) question whether such a thing as student "privacy" actually exists. Agreement is found with this writer that learner privacy could be seen as a paradox considering the degree of observation and record-keeping about learners that actually goes on internally and externally to the school.

In terms of this study, there were strong *privacy* issues: privacy in terms of the fact that the creation of teachers' and learners' identities had much to do with how they were being observed and by whom. The study found that my presence in the classroom created effects which were compounded by other forces of invasion. Firstly, there was much within the data which suggested that teachers were pressurised by my presence in the classroom to *window-dress* intersubjective assessment practices. My presence in the classroom could thus be construed as an invasion of the teachers' and learners' privacy and a form of additional surveillance by the educational system. The study also found that the states' surveillance was so enveloping that even when there were no physical surveillance mechanisms present, teachers' practices were regulated. In these cases teachers appeared to have been intimidated into displaying assessment practice in ways that would be regarded as 'correct' in assessment documentation.

On closer analysis, it seemed as though the surveillance system had created a context where the teachers became an additional driving force of the external accountability system rather than governors of their individual potential. Thus, in an unintended way, through my well-intended research needs of video-recording teachers' lessons, together with the participants' trust, I reinforced the strength of the accountability system. Foucault (1977: 201) writes the following of how surveillance reproduces itself:

Hence the major effect of [surveillance is] to induce in the [employee] a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of

power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action, [creates conditions] which the employee should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers.

One gets the sense of pastoral power as “totalizing” by the way in which “*it is intended to rule in a continuous and permanent way*” (Foucault, 1981: 227). This idea has relevance to this study: the participants in this study did not resist surveillance practices. They accepted them in passive ways and strengthened their effects in their classrooms.

In his metaphorical depiction, the shepherd would “*assume responsibility for the destiny of the whole flock*” (Foucault, 1981: 236). As the excerpt quoted below suggests, this is aligned to the Christian conception that:

...the shepherd must render an account-not only of each sheep, but of all their actions, all the good or evil they are liable to do, all that happens to them (Foucault, 1981: 236).

This idea had significance in this study. The *performative* culture in the classrooms reflects several panoptic elements. Firstly, there was the element of *continuous* observation by the state through various surveillance policies (for example, moderation). Second, there was the issue of the *constant* and *all-seeing power of the State*. Even when state requirements were not clearly visible, “C” High School was always invisibly watching (with its own “Code” system. Thirdly, there was the creation of docile and passive subjects. *Panoptic performativity* suggested by Perryman (2006) is useful to describe the assessment experiences of the teachers in this study. One could see that with the new intersubjective assessment practices, the teacher’s *self* was subject to an intense “gaze”.

In his lecture on pastoral power, Foucault draws attention to the “confessional”- a technique used to regulate behaviour (Foucault, 1981: 239). He believed that this pastoral technique worked by creating a “*link between total obedience, knowledge of oneself, and confession to someone else*” (Foucault, 1981: 239). His argument was that the techniques such as confession, guidance, obedience, are employed to shape individual self-identity (Foucault, 1981: 254). This analysis reflected strong elements of the “confessional”.

Overt and covert forms of *Accountability* created a form of pastoral power which “policed” teachers and learners into obedience. In other words, it constructed the subjects as “docile” and compliant subjects rather than critical thinkers.

Through their performative practices, the teachers and learners in the study showed that they had been normalised. Foucault (1980c: 88-89) writes below of how efficiency and productivity is created:

The individual is no doubt the fictitious atom of an ‘ideological’ representation of society; but he [sic] is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called ‘discipline’.

This genealogical analysis has helped us to understand how accountability to various parties, disciplined the subjects raising serious questions about ethics in educational contexts.

PERFORMATIVITY IN INTERSUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT

Performativity in intersubjective assessment practice has been revealed in this genealogical analysis as an important discourse. These performances reflected that teachers *were* absorbing the new intersubjective assessment into their practices despite their possible overt opposition to it. The teachers’ engagements with performativity were perhaps a product of their struggles to deal with intersubjective assessment. At the same time they could also be seen to be producing new, hybrid elements of assessment which can feed into the evolution of more complex intersubjective assessment pedagogies.

The discourse of control which currently operates in the curriculum has been described in creative ways in recent research. For example, in the book “*Curriculum Visions*” (2002), Doll & Gough (2002: 34) describe it metaphorically as a ghost who haunts the curriculum:

Control is actually embedded in the concept of curriculum. Control is not only the ghost in the clock of curriculum -- to use the predominant modernist, mechanistic

metaphor -- it is the ghost which actually runs the clock. It is time to put this ghost to rest ... and to liberate curriculum to live a life of its own.

These authors raise the issue of our need to liberate ourselves from the oppressive demands of assessment in the classroom, particularly that which compares and ranks learners in competitive rather than collaborative ways.

The analysis has shown how both teachers exercised power and were in turn acted on by power. The teachers were part of a system where they disciplined their learners and were themselves disciplined by similar forces. In the face of this host of conflicting forces, one can understand how both teachers' attempts to practice intersubjective assessment might have been rejected for traditional methods.

Intersubjective assessment at "C" High thus existed against a background of extreme conflict and tension. It was complicated by several contingencies and unexpected factors and was continually moved out of balance, by the impact of the discursive struggles within it. This analysis has shown the totalizing hold those in power have over individual bodies. It has provided an understanding of how multiple realities operate upon bodies to render them as subjects. It has shown us some of the "dangerous" ways that subjectivity is constructed within intersubjective assessment practices.

Ideas that have emerged from this research have highlighted the need to point to just how unsatisfactory the victory account of intersubjective assessment is, given my study of how it elides the complex issues of power going on. In terms of the way forward, we recognize that we can never return to earlier system of assessment. Nor can we use a form of intersubjective assessment that may liberate us from the panoptic effects of power. Foucault's (1926-1984) arguments show that power may not be controlled by one's intentions: any specific discourse will generate resistance as it meets competing discourses. As we have seen in this study, it is not the "right" use of power or a specific technique of assessment that will effectively resist the effects of discipline and normalization. Rather, we can take notice of dominant discourses, and break down systems that claim to tell "the truth" about us. In other words, although we cannot prevent

our intersubjective assessment discourses from generating productive power, we can, actively cultivate an awareness of the dangers. Perhaps we must work to better understand the concepts of choice, voice, and multiplicity of roles within the discourse of intersubjective assessment. I offer these recommendations with hope and respect, in recognition of our collective and individual voices.

REFLECTIONS ON GENEALOGICAL ANALYSIS

The research process, that constitutes this analysis, produced varying moments of excitement, curiosity, frustration and anxiety. The processes of descent and emergence were always the product of endless interpretations and reinterpretations. Reflectively, I found myself intensely “*scratching over*”, “*re-copying*” and getting seriously “*entangled in the data*” (Foucault in Rabinow, 1991: 76-100). Perhaps Foucault (Foucault 1984c: 76) is justified in his following description:

Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many time.

A major part of my “scratching over” had to do with my inner conflict: of being aware of contesting the traditional methodologies in genealogical investigation and in resisting the lure of its well established “safe” traditions. I considered several times whether to provide conclusions where I could trace ideas back to when their meaning was first revealed. I did not want to lose the reader in my interpretation of the data, and risk my study being judged as lacking or unworthy. Despite genealogy’s rejection of continuity, I still felt obligated to create a situation where the reader could follow the continuous development as progress from the original meaning. My “scratching over” and “entanglements” are thus a reflection of my journeys in attempting to unravel the complex path of power as guided by Foucault’s thoughts.

Dealing with Foucault’s ideas was undoubtedly a challenge. I found his readings confusing and abstract. The vastness of the scholarly work done within the Foucauldian community was also intriguing. Thus, much of my research journey was experienced

with trepidation. I experienced lengthy periods of frustration incurred by struggling on my own to make sense of dense theory. I took many theoretical paths which worked counter to where I needed to go on my “real” journey. I was uneasy and tentative, rather than conclusive about expressing or articulating my understanding of concepts in intersubjective assessment. I also became very self-conscious about submitting my work for scrutiny. I knew that these unnecessary journeys were costing me precious time and felt despondent about my slow progress. It was through the avenue of secondary resources on Foucault’s work, that I gained the confidence to use a Genealogical approach in my study. At a later stage, I returned to his primary work to gain a deeper understanding of his ideas and approaches.

Despite these entanglements, there were also many positive moments that were produced. From the uncertainty with regards to methodology, emerged the freedom for me as a researcher to develop an individualistic method as a genealogical project. Thus I could work with a structure which was influenced by broad principles, rather than by inflexible procedures. The search for ways to present my ideas tapped into my resourcefulness, stimulating further creative energies. In addition, my search for key ideas, multiple power relations and subjectivities within the sphere of intersubjective assessment generally invoked an excitement, curiosity and intrigue in Foucault’s work. Reflectively, developing my “own” genealogical approach enabled me to maintain an openness and responsiveness to intersubjective assessment.

The key challenge for me involved developing a trustworthy thesis, in a non-traditional form. I understood this as not about seeking solutions but rather as clarifying how and why the problems we dwell upon exist in the first place. Although I found the choice of a genealogical research path to be a challenge, there was much that I gained through genealogical interpretation. By using discontinuities to disturb the taken for granted and accepted, I have unsettled my own understandings of intersubjective assessment practices and relations. Rather than drawn conclusions, this interpretation has opened up many critical questions.

I would argue that the choice of genealogy as method in this dissertation has been a fruitful endeavour. It has allowed me to develop an analytic of the present in which I could scrutinise the assumptions we take for granted about intersubjective assessment. The genealogical approach facilitated the problematization of vital concepts and ideas central to the notion of intersubjective assessment. On the whole, this study has demonstrated that Foucault's theory, methods and the model constructed for this study are relevant, valuable and effective when investigating power in intersubjective assessment. By using Foucault's suggestions for discourse inquiry, this study has revealed the "different things" that exist within intersubjective assessment practices. As Foucault (1980a: 142) puts it:

The genealogist finds that there is something altogether different behind things: not a timeless essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

"It is not easy to say something new..."

(Foucault, 1969: 44)

The experiences that have shaped this study have been diverse and ongoing. I began this study a few years ago with a frame of reference which was shaped by experiences in which I was, like other educators, venturing into unknown territory. At the same time, I was energized by the possibilities of working with progressive and exciting new ideas in assessment. This research project has led me on journeys and into layers of assessment I had never previously given thought to. On the way I came to discover that the obvious is an important part of our critical reflection. This expedition has also made me realize the extent of the complexities that exist within the world of intersubjective assessment.

The experiences of assessment that I have written about have been reflexively created through encounters between other people and myself. These encounters have enabled me

to understand my journey as an educator and as a researcher. It also creates a vision of alternative perspectives to assessment that may be useful to other teachers. The context of my research story includes articulated elements but also silences - both intentional and random. What is written and what is not written in this dissertation is purposeful: it leaves space for the reader to give personal meaning to the words and the silences.

The threads that have connected the sections of this research are the four key questions which guided the study. These are:

- 1) What kind of power relations exist within intersubjective assessment practices?
- 2) Is it possible for educators to act and think differently about their assessment practices?
- 3) How can educators create openings in assessment which will allow their students to grow and develop?
- 4) Is it possible to challenge the new grand narrative of assessment?

The question of whether I have illuminated the power within intersubjective assessment practices through genealogical analysis at “C” High School is a reasonable one at this stage of the study. I believe that through a discussion of the power themes related to each of the extracts, I have revealed certain ways in which intersubjective assessment practices position teachers and learners in the classroom. The work that I have done in this analysis supports Gore’s (2002) idea that teachers should embrace power, be mindful of its effects and use it more knowingly. On the basis of the insights produced by this analysis, I agree with Gore (2002) that in the search to find better assessment pedagogies, our attempts to rid classrooms of power may be a futile gesture.

One of the questions dealt with the issue of whether it is possible for educators to act and think differently about their assessment practices. Following this piece of genealogical work, I am convinced that alternatives are indeed possible in intersubjective assessment. In this writing, I attempted to learn from the many voices- including those that were silent. I am advocating a vision of the role of assessment in classrooms- a role which acknowledges the importance of relationship between the students and the teacher. As teachers, we need to value the relationships with learners and to create opportunities to

not just listen but to actually hear their voices. We need to make conscious attempts to question the notion of *accountability* and find ways to avoid being dominated by the “system”. Furthermore, we must work to better understand the concepts of choice, voice, and multiplicity of roles within the discourses of intersubjective assessment.

In terms of the question of whether it is possible to challenge the new grand narrative of assessment, this study has revealed interesting insights. At the beginning of this genealogical analysis I positioned myself as a “specific intellectual” whose task was not to mould or lead others but to question our assumptions, routines about intersubjective assessment. In my attempts to disturb habits and thinking about intersubjective assessment, I became aware that I was only at the threshold of a deeper, more intensive journey. Foucault’s (1989) view on this idea is cited as follows in Pignatelli (2005: 396):

...the genealogist’s task does not end here but starts from this re-problematization...to participate in the formation of a political will.

I acknowledge Foucault’s point and make no attempt to “tie-up” any loose ends into a coherent form. Foucault’s advice to the researcher is cited by Pignatelli (2005: 396) as follows:

A philosopher who wonders, and, in so doing, pushes at the margins of how we recognize ourselves... She/he exploits chance, speculation and surprise as an opportunity to remake how we experience and reconstruct ourselves and our world.

I would argue that this study has contributed to presenting a unique perspective of intersubjective assessment as well as to pointing out vital questions for the future. However, this investigation is not intended to map out the future. As Pignatelli (1993) has done, I see them as philosophical exercises which write a history of the present and in so doing, provoke us to think differently about intersubjective assessment. Foucault encourages us to “push” further at the margins of the phenomenon investigated. Inspired by his ideas, I see the end of my research as a beginning - the beginning of further possibilities for awareness of intersubjective assessment.

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APPENDICES

1. Transcript of Extract “A”.
2. Transcript of Extract “B”.
3. Transcript of Extract “C”.
4. Transcript of Extract “D”.
5. Transcript of Extract “E”.
6. Extracts from “C” High School’s Code of Conduct.

1) TRANSCRIPT OF EXTRACT "A"

<u>Frame</u> <u>Speaker</u>	<u>Body language and activities</u>
A1 Teacher	<p>8h... there's no talking... (Teacher hands out worksheet to class. Class seated in groups of 6. This seems to be the general layout of the classroom - nothing specific to do with the lesson).</p> <p>Learners took up these positions as if they were routine.</p>
A2 Learners	<p>(Learners chat to members of the group they are seated in. This appears to be more casual chat in normal tones. Their generally body language is relaxed. A few learners are stretched out in their seats.)</p> <p>(Teacher is busy at her desk. She seems to be organizing herself for the lesson. She appears to be slightly flustered. Her movements are quick and slightly agitated).</p> <p>Teacher looks fleetingly at me sitting at the back of the classroom.</p>
A3 Teacher	<p>Ok. 8h I want you looking at this worksheet I've just handed out (raises worksheets in hand for class to view).</p> <p>On the one side there's a big heading "group-work"... I want you looking at the other side where there's three columns... that say "myths, legends and folktales" (points this out to the class).</p>
A4 Learners	<p>(About half the class looks at the corresponding section in their own worksheets. At least half do not cooperate. These learners continue to talk to each other.)</p>
A5 Teacher	<p>Ok can you remember in the drama room? ... When we ... um... spoke about the differences between those three? Remember?</p>
A6 Learners	<p>Yes (collective response from the few learners who are paying attention)</p> <p>(About half of the class is not paying attention –these learners are looking through their desks or talking to each other. A learner approaches the teacher's desk with question. Teacher appears to be handing him a worksheet OR giving him a copy of one. This conversation is muffled.)</p>

A7/8 Teacher	<p>Ok and then what we did... is we wrote our own... and you decided whether you wanted to do a folktale or legend or myth... (teacher looks fleetingly around the room)</p> <p>Ok now what we're going to do today is we're going to summarize that into this worksheet (points to worksheet)... so when you're preparing for exams... (Pauses, facing class)... please keep quiet... (Teacher waits for quieter moment. She looks around the room quickly)</p>
A9 Teacher	When you're preparing for exams you'll have it in front of you... and then we'll work with a group... (Inaudible)... but for now... I want everyone with a pen on this, looking at the three columns (shows on the worksheet) on this side... (Puts worksheet down).
A10 Learners	(Low murmur at first. This builds up to more voluble levels.)
A11 Teacher	<p>(Goes to board and writes)</p> <p>Uh uh... there's no talking.</p>
A12 Learner (1)	Miss... have you marked our stories?
A13 Teacher	No... not yet! (Teacher does not look at the learner when answering. She continues to write on the board.)
A14 Learners	(A murmur is heard from the learners)
A15 Teacher	(Draws columns in figure on board. These appear to be the same as in worksheet: Myths, Fairytales, etc.)
A16 Learners	(Learners talk amongst themselves while the teacher writes on the board. Some learners behave in a restless manner)
A17 Teacher	<p>uh uh!</p> <p>Shhh...</p>
A18 Learners	(Learners continue talking. Many are still restless. Not many learners seem to be concentrating on the teaching activities)
A19	OK... (Waits looking at class which is still noisy)

Teacher	I'm waiting for silence ... (Pauses for a few seconds. Appears to be waiting for learners to cooperate) shh... (class gets quieter)
A20 Teacher	Ok what I'm gonna do is I'm gonna give... you three groups over here...group number one, group number two (pointing to another set of learners)... and group number three (points to another set of learners) (Teacher walks to the front of the classroom)
A21 Learners	(Learners are more attentive. Many more learners focus on the teacher)
A22 Teacher	You're going to discuss the characteristics of Myths... what are... what is a myth? (The question appears to be directed at a particular group of learners. The learners do not provide an answer to the question) OK... I want you three groups to discuss that...
A23 Learners	(Learners appear to listening now even though teacher is not directly watching them. She watches them from a peripheral position in the room.)
A24 Teacher	(Teacher points to another group. She spreads out her fingers at them. Words are muffled) Folktales (not sure) and stories... and you three legends... group number 1 (pointing to them... group number three (pointing to them) and group number three (pointing to them)... you gonna discuss legends and then characteristics... Ok and you guys are going to discuss folktales (pointing to the group)... Ok then we're going to feed back on what you've decided they include...
A25 Learners	(Although at first there is a fair amount of talking, this is not task related. There is much shuffling. Most learners seem to be making an attempt to complete the task. There is more talking around the worksheet and the allocated tasks. Teacher observes from the front of the classroom.)
A26 Teacher	Ok... I'm coming round to hear your discussions...
A27 Learners	(Seemed to be engaged in the task)
A28	(Walks around from group to group. Listens to the discussions in the

Teacher	groups)
A29 Learners	(Discussion continues in groups. A period of five minutes elapses)
A30 Teacher	OK can we have quiet please? This group over here... (Points to the group) tell me what you've come up with... Steven! Sshh... listening to a question... pardon me! (Class is noisy) (Shouts) 8H!
A31 Teacher	(Some discussion continues at a softer note) Right Michael can you please tell me from your group... Kay people remember when other people are talking we respect them and we keep quiet...
A32 Teacher	Ok if your group can come up with at lease one characteristic of a myth that you came up with... (Faces group and waits for their response)
A33 Learners	(No clear response is forthcoming from class. Some learners seem to be fidgeting. Some look at each other)
A34 Teacher	(Sharp tone) What were you doing in our discussion time? You were supposed to discuss what a myth was about! ... Now I wanna know your feedback!
A35 Learners	(A learner responds on behalf of the group. The answer is barely audible) We were discussing what a myth is and... (inaudible) ... communities (vague)...
A36 Teacher	OK...includes small communities (Writes this out on the board)...
A37 Learners	(Other learners do not turn to face the centre for the discussion. They continue to discuss the task in their groups)
A38 Teacher	OK group number two... what did you discuss?

A39 Learners	(Learner response is barely audible)
A40 Teacher	I'm sorry... the class is being rude. Let's just wait for everybody! OK? (Looks at class sternly for a few seconds)
A41 Learner (2)	It's something that passed on from generation to generation...
A42 Teacher	OK! (Writing on board)... passed down... from... generation to generation...
A43 Learners	(Short pause. A few learners copy the notes from the board)
A44 Teacher	Ok... group number three, what did you come up with?
A45 Learners	(Response is barely audible)
A46 Teacher	Just wait Michael... wait for the class to settle down... (Teacher appears to be getting angry)
A47 Learner (3)	(Learner addresses class) Come guys keep quiet!
Learner (4)	Shut your mouth! (Says something like) ... Gods and Goddesses...
A48 Teacher	(Repeats the answer)... Kay... Gods and goddesses (writes on board) (Learners do not focus on the teacher. Many learners have their backs to the teacher and seem to be talking about other things)
A49 Learners	(Discussion continues within the groups)
A50 Teacher	OK legends... Stom and P... What did you come up with? Please 8h...
A51	(Not clear)

Learners	Exaggerated story...
A52 Teacher	Kay... exaggerated story.
A53 Learners	(Still talking amongst themselves)
A54 Teacher	Kay... your group (pointing to a different set of learners)... Johara... What did you come up with... when you were discussing legends?
A55 Learners	Miss... (answer not clear)
A56 Teacher	Kay. Sorry...who else was doing legends... was it just Stom and you? And you guys were legends? OK what did you guys come up with?
A57 Learners	(Response not clear)
Teacher	SShh... the royalty (Writing on board)... anything else that we've left off legends... Stom and ... that you want to add... anything that you want to add to that... you guys... anything that you discussed other than that?
A58 Learners	Can be people or animals?
A59 Teacher	Sssh... OK ... can be people or animals.
A60 Teacher	We're going to write it out with the rest of the notes I'm going to give you guys later...
A61 Learners	(Response is muffled)
A62 Teacher	Just hold on.... wait for the class please...
A63	It also teaches you a lesson that also has a moral to it...

Learner (5)	
A64 Teacher	Kay... so it teaches a lesson... and it has a moral.
A65 Learners	And also... (comment muffled)
A67 Teacher	Just hold on... let's get someone else from here...
A68 Learners	(Two learners exchange glances. They do not make eye contact with teacher)
A69 Teacher	8h... I know (emphasis) this stuff... I'm doing this for you! And you need this for exams... so don't mess around!
A70 Learners	(Noise prevails)
A71 Teacher	Just wait... we're discussing this as a group and then we will discuss it later...
A72 Learners	(Muffled sound... teacher listens)
A73 Teacher	Ok if you refer to our notes, the story telling... notes that you all should have... it says that myths are stories... 8H!
A74 Learners	(Learners look at teacher)
A75 Teacher	Myths are stories that explain how people in the world and animals in the world were created... OK? Now what do you call those? Remember we wrote them...
A80 Learners	(Muffled response)
A81 Teacher	No! No! No! What are they called?

A82 Learner (1)	Uh... uh... creation myths...
A83 Teacher	Creation myths OK... Remember we wrote them? (writing on board) The creation myths...
A84 Learners	(Copy notes from board. Noise level is high)
A85 Teacher	And who can tell me what's involved in a creation myth? ... Yes?
A86 Learners	It starts off with nothing then... (muffled)
A87 Teacher	Ok! Starts off with nothing... then what happens?
A88 Learners development stage...
A89 Teacher	OK what happens in the development stage?
A90 Learners	How things were created...
A91 Teacher	Ok! How things were created... then we get what?
A92 Learners	Climax.
A93 Teacher	Ok then what happens after the climax? Dave...
A94 Learners	(No response)
A95 Teacher	Dave... shhh! What happens after the climax... in the creation myth?

A96 Learners	Goes back to an ending...
A97 Teacher	Goes back to a ... (Shows hand movement)
A98 Learners	Carries on....
A99 Teacher	Goes back to a ... carries on OK? Ok so what were the creation myths we wrote?
A100 Learners	(No response)
A101 Teacher	Alright... then it says?
A102 Teacher	Ok the myths explain the forces of nature... how things were created... you could also discuss...
A103 Learners	(Learner talks loudly while teacher is talking)
A104 Teacher	(Looks directly at learner. Asks sternly, raising tone of voice) Are you just going to carry on talking? (Angry. Frowning)
A105 Learners	(Learner looks down. Does not respond)
A106 Teacher	(When learner looks down, teacher looks at another boy that is talking for a few seconds. She then resumes talking about the previous point). OK it also explains about the forces of nature... such as the storms... ok... er... what else can you think of... forces of nature?
A107 Learners	Hurricanes...
A108 Teacher	OK Hurricanes...good.

A109 Learners	Thunder...volcanoes...
A110 Teacher	Volcanoes ... Ok very similar to a creation myth that we did...it's describing how things were created, but instead... describing how storms came about... so they involved the stories about the creation of a hurricane...
A111 Learners	(Almost entire class is focused on teacher)
A112 Teacher	Remember both the stories about the creation of a hurricane...
A113 Learners	(Class is attentive. Remain focused on teacher)
A114 Teacher	Ok why hurricanes occur? Why storms occur... does everyone understand?
A115 Learners	(Attentive, focused on teacher)
A116 Teacher	Ok it also says... it involves Gods and Goddesses... (pointing to the board)... like we said over here... remember in our creation myths too... it was the Gods and the Goddesses who were creating... who were making things come about...Ok different Gods and Goddesses... OK so those were our... (Not clear)... small communities...Yes...
A117 Learners	(Attentive and focused)
A118 Teacher	It is passed down from generation to generation... it is stories that the elders and the ancestors have told... and now it is passed down and believed by communities...
A119 Learners	(Attentive and focused)
A120 Teacher	Awright... then we moved on to legends...

A121 Learners	(Muffled responses about the topic from learners. This appears to be more like a greater interest in the topic)
A122 Teacher	Exaggerated stories...OK legends are exaggerated stories... remember I told you what an exaggerated story was? Who can remember?
A123 Learners	(Attentive and focused)
A124 Learner (1) Learner (2) Learner (1)	I know miss... like when James wrote the thing ... when we were walking somewhere and a car bumped the back of his old car... A red Toyota... Ya... and we exaggerated that ... was killed.
A125 Learners	(Talking flaring up in different areas in the classroom)
A126 Teacher	Ok good! So it was an exaggeration... Remember I used another example? Girls at the back... Are you listening? Shhh...
A127 Learners	(Group pointed out stop talking)
A128 Teacher	Remember I used the example of... if someone cut their finger a little bit... If we wanted to exaggerate that story we would say ... we had to amputate... it was terrible... the whole finger came off... Ok its exaggeration.
A129 Learners	(Noise building up)
A130 Teacher	Shhh... there are also... listen they were... (word inaudible)
A131 Learners	(Noise building up)

A132 Teacher	Which group came up with these characters? Was it your group? (Pointing to a group) Yes they worked with these characters and they exaggerated ... they would exaggerate the bravery of the night... Kay? Or the size of the dragon! So things like that are made bigger... Shhh
A133 Learners	(Noise increasing)
A134 Teacher	I hope you're writing this down in your columns?
A135 Learners	(Squeals and complaints are heard)
A136 Teacher	I said will you discuss it as a whole... and they can include both people and animals... guys what you need to understand about legends is the characters are exaggerated...
A137 Learners	(Learners starting to write. Noise settles down almost completely)
A138 Teacher	The dragon will be a huge (emphasis) dragon... Ok? Everything is much bigger...
A139 Teacher	Ok everything is made a lot bigger than it usually is. Are there any questions about legends before we move on? About the legends... alright?
A140/141 Learners	(No response to question)
A142 Teacher	Alright... then lastly the folktales...
A143 Learners	(Learner asks question)

A144 Teacher	Please keep quiet... there's a question being asked...
A145 Learners	(Question not audible)
A146 Teacher	Ok... good question! When someone leaves a legend... they leave something behind that people remember them by... Ok that's a slightly different meaning to the actual form of the story... called a legend ... So if you leave a legend behind... when you die... like the legend...
A147 Learners	(Answer not audible)
A148 Teacher	Well anyone! If you leave a legend... then it's something you are remembered by...
A149 Learners	Like when someone dies ... we say he was great!
A150 Teacher	Ok it's something you leave behind when you die? Ok that's a very good question... then lastly we have the folktales... let's wait till the class is quiet ... excuse me... Sorry, was I in your way?

2) TRANSCRIPT OF EXTRACT "B"

<u>Frame</u> <u>Speaker</u>	<u>Body Language and activities</u>
B1 Teacher	Okay... listen up ... come now... quiet! As I was... er... saying a minute ago... we gonna spend a couple of minutes discussing each of the group's presentations... not in terms of their plays... but in terms of our assessment of each of their performances... okay? Right... before we get to that I have some serious questions which you have to be very honest with me about... Okay you must (Emphasis)... be honest with me... in any case I warned you guys that the group assessments were important ... so if you didn't do it properly... you are going to get order marks!
B2 Learner	...miss? How many miss?
B3 Teacher	Is that important? The fact is you guys are getting punishment... I've spoken about this... (Looking at learner who has her hand raised)... yes Jess?
B4 Learner	So miss... how many... cos like... I already have 4... cos of not doing our project and it like... wasn't our fault but Miss Kajee gave them anyway...
B5 Teacher	Look this is wasting a lot of time... I'll (stressing) decide how many... for now lets get on with the assessment tasks... (Noticing Jess's hand go up again... she is stopped short)... I said sshh! Later!
B6 Teacher	(Noticing another hand going up) Yes Raynard?
B7 Learner	Ma'm... can we please get only 2?
B8 Teacher	Phew... you guys are persistent... okay 2 then... but this shouldn't be happening... anyway now since we can't close this topic I want a few good reasons why the work was not done...
B9 Teacher	Which of you groups have not completed the assessment tasks? You guys there in the back?

B10 Learner	Ma'm... we finished most of it... but there wasn't time...
B11 Teacher	You... that group?
B12 Learner	(Nodding)... yes ...ok by a quick show of hands... mmmmm er... okay!
B13 Teacher	Seems like there's only two groups... kay... you guys are getting 2 order marks each... and if you don't complete it and show it to me tomorrow then it goes up hey? It could even become a Saturday detention...
B14 Teacher	Now... focus on the task... (Looking at me. Smiling shaking her head).
B15 Teacher	Right ...now grade 9's (looking towards the back of the class, at me and speaking louder than previously) Remember how each group did their play... while each of you watched the other... then you were supposed to fill in each assessment sheet... each section on that... er...sheet.
B16 Teacher	Okay... lets start there at the back... your group Lesanne... give us the um... total out of 20 at the bottom... and then you guys must explain... I mean... one person in each group... must give us explanations as to the... er... um reasons for the mark... what did you give... where's the leader?
B17 Learner	Ma'm... can we choose a leader now... cos we didn't know that we just... talked about it as a group...
B18 Teacher	No no no no no no! That's not what I said... your group's been messing around... Ok leave the explanation... just give us the mark... anyone in the group... Preshalen... you normally do your work... you should have something... anyway I'm surprised at you...I can understand the others in the group... but you seem to be slacking off with them...
B19 Learner	Ma'm... we gave it 15.
B20	Okay... let's record that on the board up here... (Writing on board)... group 1... and 15... please remind me which group you

Teacher	assessed... group A ... ok... right lets go to the next group.
B21 Learner	Miss...
B22 Teacher	Yes Kamietha?
B23 Learner	Miss... we didn't know what to do in ours... miss... cos when the group we were supposed to watch did theirs the bell went...
B24 Teacher	So... you guys don't have a mark either?
B26 Learner	No ma'm... we gave it a mark of 10... but we didn't do all the sections...
B27 Teacher	Doesn't matter... Let's just put it up here...10 (writing on board)... and that was for...
B28 Learner	Group c miss
B29 Teacher	Pity... cos they had a really nice presentation hey?
B30 Teacher	Ok... two more groups... Let's have the group on the left...
B31 Learner	Miss we watched the B's... they did the play on the musical band...
B32 Teacher	Ya... what was the mark?
B33 Learner	We gave them 18...
B34 Teacher	18? Gee that's good... but they <i>were</i> good... Lots of activity with that group... okay lets write that down... eighteen... group... B (Writing on the board).
B35	Gade 9's! You are extremely rude... not only do we have

Teacher	company... but you are in a classroom! Settle down immediately! It seems that whenever I put you into groups... you get rowdy... come now... you're pushing me...
B36 Teacher	Our final group... (Looking in their direction)
B37 Learner	13 miss...
B38 Teacher	Thanks... for the D group? Ok right fine! (Turning to face the class who have quietened down) That's much better... now remember every person in the group gets the same mark... So if one person in each group could please jot down the names of each member of the group... I can enter your marks... now these marks will go towards the term marks as I said earlier... Ya... and the order marks still stand... those two groups... (Pointing to groups) ...you getting 2 each.

3) TRANSCRIPT OF EXTRACT "C"

<u>Frame</u> <u>Speaker</u>	<u>Body Language and activities</u>
C1 Teacher	Ok now we're moving on to a very important section, which you'll need to know for the exams... the folktale... Ok... folktale teaches a lesson... and remember we did examples about this... how they teach a lesson... how did the put (moles? holes?) in their stories- what did they do?
C2 Learners	(Response inaudible)
C3 Teacher	You guys wrote a lot of folktales for your portfolios... what did you put in?
C4 Learners	(Response inaudible)
C5 Teacher	Ok... the boy who cried wolf! Ok... somewhere in the story...remember an adult doesn't want to stand in front of their child and say... please don't steal... what they do is they use stories and they use animals as characters... and they told these stories in a... way that the children would learn a lesson... or people would learn a lesson... So remember that one we did? About the... remember the animal that didn't have a tail?
C6 Learners	The dassie...
C7 Teacher	The dassie! Thank you... to go and fetch the tails when God was handing them out... and he said to the other animals... can't you fetch me a tail? Please fetch me a tail when you get there... and they forgot because they were so excited getting their tails that they forgot to get the dassie his tail... so to this day the dassie doesn't have a tail...
C8 Learners	(Learners write notes in books)

C9 Teacher	Ok so that taught us... the sort of creation myth that a dassie does not have a tail... but its more teaching us... the story is more speaking about...
C10 Learners	Don't be lazy.
C11 Teacher	Don't be lazy! Ok so that's what the folk tales used to do... they used to make up a story that taught a lesson... or morals.
C12 Learners	Ma'm... we can't see...
C13 Teacher	Sorry I was in the way... (Teacher moves out the way).
C14 Learners	(Learners get noisy)
C15 Teacher	<p>Ok remember also... Ok as well with folktales... it wasn't going to be the same story each time... (Learners get noisier while copying down notes)</p> <p>Please listen... this is also important ... It's also going to go in your portfolios for marks for your term-mark... right...</p> <p>so pay attention... remember I said that the structure stayed the same... so they still have the same story about the dassie didn't go and fetch his tail so he lost out but that could be adapted... they could say that there was a big giant handing out the tails... and the animals... instead of them being excited and forgetting they just thought they'll be horrible to the dassie and forget him...</p>
C16 Learners	(Writing notes)
C17 Teacher	So the structure of the story could be changed slightly... and that would happen with every telling... everything gets changed just a little bit... so it wasn't the same story every time... well it was the same story, but with different characters and a different plot... but...
C18	The same morals...

Learner	
C19 Teacher	(Nodding) the same morals... OK?
C20 Learners	(Writing)
C21 Teacher	Ok... so let's go through them again while you're writing.
C22 Learners	Aw... miss
C23 Teacher	Listen... I won't have attitude... absolutely not! I said this section is important for exams... where was I now? A myth includes Gods and Goddesses... it will always include gods and goddesses.
C24 Learners	Always?
C25 Teacher	Yes... it will always... that's how you identify them – gods and goddesses.
C26 Learners	(Learners write)
C27 Teacher	It can include creations... specifically... specifically if it was creation myths like we did... boys at the back... will you stop that now! You are being so rude! Ok let me go through that structure once more for you... you can just draw at the bottom of your grid.
C28 Learners	(A few learners are writing)
C29 Teacher	Ok remember the beginning... (Writing on the board) remember in the beginning of the creation myths...
C30 Learners	Miss will we... (*inaudible).

C31 Teacher	Yes when we have a prac lesson.
C32 Teacher	Remember at the beginning of the creation myths... there was nothing... then in the middle...
C33 Learners	It was when things were created...
C34 Teacher	It was when things were created... please copy this down... while I'm doing it.
C35 Learners	Where... on the grid miss?
C36 Teacher	At the bottom of your grid... cos you not gonna use your whole grid... or at the bottom of the group-work page... Ok so the middle things were created... ok?
C37 Learners	Then climax...
C38 Teacher	Then there's the climax...good! And this is where things all came together.
C39 Learners	(Become noisy)
C40 Teacher	And then at the end James... what did you say would happen?
C50 Learners	It carried on...
C51 Teacher	OK good!
C52 Learners	What? It carried on...
C53	Lengthy period of note-taking...

Learners	
C54 Teacher	OK we're going to go through it again with some examples...
C55 Learners	(Writing)
C56 Teacher	Ok in the beginning the earth was formless... desolate... the earth was nothing... ssh... then the Gods decided that they were ... the Gods decided that they needed to create something on this empty earth... so the Gods decided to create... Kiran are you listening... whenever you two sit together (pointing to 2 boys) there's a problem in my class...
C57 Learners	Miss he took my...
C58 Teacher	Please stop messing around boys! OK... we're still staying with the myth... then the gods decided to create us... the climax (louder) everything came together... it all started working together... at the end... how it carried... lived on.
C59 Teacher	What are some of the stories? What's wrong Steven? What is your problem? Guys please come to class prepared...
C60 Learners	(Steven walks out of his place to the waste basket)
C61 Teacher	Steven you are holding up the whole class... please hurry up... why do you have to disturb me? Do you want me to give you order marks? You've already got about 50 from me this term....aren't you learning anything from all the detentions? Sit down now... and you gonna see me after class...
C62 Learner	Miss... I have to throw this (points to paper)... (smiling to peers)

	(A few sniggers are heard)
C63 Teacher	OK so does everyone understand that?
C64 Learners	(Copying down notes as teacher writes them on grid on board)
C65 Teacher	OK so that is the structure of your creation myth... I hope you've all got that down?
C66 Teacher	Ok then we went on to legends... exaggerated stories... so all the characters and all the events that happened will be exaggerated... they will be made bigger... they will be made larger than life... let me write that down.
C67 Learners	Larger?
C68 Teacher	Ok (Writing) larger than life... (Noise is building up)
C69 Teacher	Ok so they will not be real... they will be made exaggerated so it won't be just a normal dragon that puffs out a little bit of smoke... it will be this enormous huge dragon that blows huge amounts of fire...
C70 Learners	(Learners getting rowdy. They are laughing loudly)
C71 Teacher	That will be your legend... exaggeration!
C72 Teacher	Shhh... your folktales (pointing)... remember the dassie... there will get a story... that Steven... you got all this (pointing to board) down...
C73 Steven	Yes ma'm?
C74 Teacher	Ok most folktales will include animals as their characters... and is told in order for the person listening to be taught a moral taught a lesson... Ok does everyone understand these three and the differences between them ...

C75 Learners	Yes (collectively)
C76 Teacher	<p>So if you are asked a question like this in the exam... If I say to you in the exam... please write me a folktale including all of its characteristics you will go... Ok a folktale includes characters mainly animals - which teach you a lesson... so... I need... what do I need to do?</p> <p>I need to write a story which teaches us a lesson... and include animals as characters... Ok it says write a myth... so you know you got to include Gods and goddesses... include creation... you can include about forces of nature... about storms.</p>
C77 Teacher	<p>So please know the differences between these so that if you are asked then you know what each of them involves...</p> <p>Ok on the other side of your page... you have the heading group-work Ok can you turn over to your –page that says ‘group-work’... (writing on board)</p>
C78 Learners	<p>Er... please listen... ok 8h... can you tell me by putting up your hand...we’ve worked a lot in groups... remember last term we did our colour prac and there was a lot of group-work... also now when we’re writing our stories there’s a lot of group-work... and you know with drama that it is a lot of group-work... so what I want to know just by putting your hands up if you got it right... answer... what have you learnt most about group-work... what have you enjoyed what have you not enjoyed and what do you think group-work includes?</p>
C79 Teacher	(Noisy)
C80 Learners	Hands up and if you talk there will be problems... yes your hand is up first?
Teacher	Communication.
C90 Learners	Sorry.
C91 Teacher	Communication.

C92 Learners	Yes... communication... good! Yes please write these down under group-work.
C93 Teacher	You need to listen to everyone else' ideas.
C94 Teacher	You need to listen to everyone else' ideas.
C95 Learners	Yes ... you need to listen! Ok important to listen... Michel
C96 Teacher	You need to rely on each other.
C97 Learners	Ok so there's' a lot of dependability.
C98 Teacher	Miss... everyone must participate...
C99 Learners	OK you need participation! Just to go back to this dependency... everyone listen... didn't we have a few examples where people forgot props... they didn't learn their words... and the whole group was depending on them and when they didn't participate... the whole group fell apart... in group work every single member is reliant... anything else about group-work?... what about contribution towards the tasks? Did one person just do them... or... shhh give the person a chance...8h! Kiran?
C100 Teacher	Miss we split them up...
C101 Learners	OK so you split them up... so splitting up a task... why would you do that?
C102 Teacher	Its fair and one person is not over loaded.
C103	Ok... its fair and one person is not over loaded.

Learners	
C104 Teacher	(Noise building up)
C105 Learners	Adele... stop it!
C106 Teacher	(Laughing)
C107 Learners	Ok what do people not enjoy about working in a group? Let's think back to your colour pracs... what did you as a group not enjoy?
C108 Teacher	Miss... Yes there was fighting...
C109 Learners	Ok there were disagreements... why were there disagreements.
C110 Teacher	(Response not clear)
C111 Learners	Ok you're not always put in a group where There are going to be different ideas! The way people do things that other people don't enjoy... please listen... this is important... so you need to come to a balance... the members of the group need to come to a solution.
C112 Teacher	(Learners noisy)
C113 Learners	Guys please stop messing around...
C115 Learners	Ok you need to find a solution as to how you going to work through these differences... and come to an agreement...
C116 Teacher	(Learner raises hand)

C117 Learners	Yes Michel...
C118 Teacher	When one person sits and does everything...
C119 Learners	Ok when one person takes over...
C120 Teacher	(Bell goes to signal the next period)
C121 Learners	Please bring these notes to your next lesson...

4) TRANSCRIPT OF EXTRACT "D"

D1 Teacher	<p>(Walks around the front of the learners)</p> <p>(Learners seated in conventional layout facing teacher)</p> <p>Ok ... We did the subject the verb and the object and the two kinds of objects which were...</p> <p>(Waits for learners to finish the sentence).</p>
D2 Learners	(Inaudible response)
D3 Teacher	<p>(Blocks out a part of a transparency projected on a screen in front of classroom)</p> <p>(Learners appear to be writing down things that they see on the transparency)</p> <p>Ok good...</p> <p>Now were going to deal with another section still dealing with sentences... were still dealing with sentences ... just another part of a sentence.</p> <p>Ok ... so our heading today is clauses...</p> <p>(Teacher moves transparency further down)</p> <p>So our heading today is clauses...</p> <p>All you need to know today about...</p>
Learners	(Attentive)
D4 Teacher	<p>(Blocks out parts of transparency, points to the section and reads it out aloud. The learners are following on the screen with her)</p> <p>Again... all you need to know at this stage about a clause is that it is a phrase... which contains a verb...</p> <p>For example... what the headmaster knew about music could be written on a stamp...</p> <p>So the phrase with ... the headmaster knew about music is a clause because it contains a verb... the verb knew... knew about...</p>
D5 Learners	(Fairly attentive)
D6	OK there's a lot of ... many different kinds of clauses... but in grade 8 all

Teacher	you need to know is that a clause is a phrase that contains a verb in it... (Long pause where learners are copying down notes from the transparency. While teacher explains, learners copy notes)
D7 Learner 1	(Learners silent while taking down notes) Ma'm... Learner points to transparency... can't read... could you read out that for me?
D8 Teacher	Is a phrase that contains a verb in it... is that fine now? And the example is ... what the headmaster knew about music could be written on a stamp...
D9 Learners	(Fairly co-operative)
D10 Teacher	Ok ... so any phrase which contains a verb is called a...
D11 Learners	(Group response) Clause...
D12 Teacher	Good...
D13 Learners	(attentive)
D14 Teacher	OK... like I told you... there are different kinds of clauses... we're only dealing with one today, which is called... the adverbial clauses... and there are 8 (stressed) adverbial clauses...OK?
D16 Teacher	There are eight different kinds of adverbial clauses...
D17 Learners	(Pause... 13 seconds)
D18 Teacher	OK what were going to be doing is we're going to be dealing with each one, Kay? I'm going to go through each one with you and then I'm going to split you up into 8 groups...

D19 Learners	Oh no! (Single learner's response... quite inaudible...)
D20 Teacher	And we're going to be doing a task... I give each group one of the 8, and we'll give you the task at the ... so please concentrate on each of the 8 so you know what to do... Ok the first one is <i>time</i> and this answers the question <i>when</i> ? <i>When was Ross climbing the tree?(pointing to Ross- a learner in the learners)...(voice raised at end as though waiting for a response</i>
D21 Learners	Teacher looks at learners...
D22 Teacher	Ross was climbing the tree in the afternoon... so the... so your answer to the question would be? (Teacher looks at learners for response)
D23 learners	Mumble
D24 Teacher	When was Ross climbing the tree? K lets use this one (points to example on OHP) I sent the telegram as soon as he arrived... When did the send the telegram?
D25 Learners	(Respond collectively) "...as soon as he arrived..."
D26 Teacher	OK good! So ... we are answering the question... when! We trying to find out the time... adverbial clause time- we ask... when?
D28 Teacher	When was it done? (Stressing when) (Pause, teacher looks at OHP. Appears to be giving learners a chance to write out answers, adjusts the focus of the transparency)
D29 Learners	(Write down the information from the transparency)
D30 Teacher	Can everyone see this ... sorry there's...? (inaudible)... here
D31	(Mumble by learners)

learners	sshh
D32 Teacher	Everyone got that down?
D33 Learner 2	Ma'm... Matthew's fooling around... (Teacher ignores comment by learner)
D36 Teacher	(Teacher waits observing progress from the front of the learners – seems to be giving learners time to copy more notes)
D37 Learner 3	(Question asked about clauses. exact wording cannot be heard)
D38 Teacher	Kay... a clause is any phrase that has a verb in it... (Spoken softly to learner who raised the question) Ok... remember when we did verbs? Ok phrases make up sentences... We've got a phrase there... what the headmaster knew about music... knew is our verb... and it's a phrase in a sentence... ya (Points to board)
D39 Learners	(Some mumbling from learners)
D40 Teacher	Ok let me give you another example (bolder voice)... the chef is the man who wears the big hat... wears the big hat...wears... would be our verb... when you wear something, it's a doing word...so wears the big hat would be our clause... cos its got a verb in it... the clause has got a verb in it...
D41 learners	(Learners take down notes. Some learners are discussing the “phrase” and “verb” with each other)
D42 Teacher	So the first one is ...time... the second one...is place (stressed) and this answers the question... where? So for example... I stood where? I stood where so you could easily see me... Where did I stand?
D43 Learners	(Collective response) Where we could easily see you...
D44	Good! When you're trying to find out the place...

Teacher	You ask where? Adverbial clause... place...where...
D46 learners	(Learners copies down the example)
D47 Teacher	So each time when you're trying to find out these adverbial clauses... so just keep asking yourselves these questions... and you'll find it in the sentence.
D48 Learners	(Short pause. A bit of mumbling)
D49 Teacher	Ok we're gonna move along... you can just carry on writing later...I can put this on again for you so you can write
D50 learners	(Copying notes)
D51 Teacher	Reason! (Pointing to transparency) The third adverbial clause is <i>Reason</i> .and here we ask the question... why? The... the rice burnt because it was left on the stove too long... why did the rice burn?
D52 Learners	(Collective response) Because it was left on the stove too long...
D53 Teacher	Okaaay! (smiles) So we're asking ourselves the question... why? And we will find out the reason...
D54 learners	(Learners take down notes)
D55 Teacher	(Changes transparency) Ok... purpose... we want to find out the purpose ... we ask... for what purpose is it done. For example... (Reading from worksheet) he stood on the box so he could see the stage better"... Why... what was the purpose of standing on the box?
D56 learners	(Collectively) So he could see the stage better!

D57 Teacher	Ok so it's not the same as asking why he stood on the box. Is a purpose... what purpose did you do it for? Ya... there is a purpose involved... he stood on the box so he could see the stage. So in order for him to see the stage... he has to stand on the box!
D58 learners	(Taking down notes)
D59 Teacher	So for purpose ... we ask for what purpose?
D60 Learner 1	So he could see the stage... he was short...
D61 Teacher	Like Matthew!
D62 learners	(Learners laughs)
D63 Teacher	Ok I will put these on again for you... I'm just going to...move these along so we can get to our task... OK... Result (pointing to next transparency) With result... when we want to find out we ask what the consequences are? Does anyone know what a consequence is?
D64 learners	(no response)
D65 Teacher	Ok when you do something... you're going to... lets say you... you... smoke cigarettes! You're going to have the consequence of having bad lungs! OK... something that happens... it's an action that happens with something that you do... For example... he was so bald that he was often mistaken for my grandfather! Kay... so what was the consequence of him being bald?
D66 learners	(Collective response) He was mistaken for my grandfather...

D67 Teacher	OK! With what consequence... and that is the result!
D68 Learners	(Time elapses. Learners copy notes)
D69 Teacher	(Teacher moves the transparency) Ok... I'll put this on again...
D70 learners	Wait ma'm...(Teacher puts it back again and waits)
D71 Teacher	OK I'm going to put this on again...
D72 Learner1	Ma'm... I'm nearly finished...
D73 Teacher	(Some talking. Learners give directions as to the point they'd like to copy from)
D74 learners	(Teacher changes the transparency) Ma'm... look at that finger print (pointing to the screen) (Learner is ignored)
D75 Teacher	Ok so after result, we get the condition... adverbial clause... condition! And when we want to know the condition we ask... what conditions or circumstances? So... if you drop it you might damage the microphone! So under what conditions might you break the microphone?
D76 learners	(Collective response) If you drop it!
D77 Teacher	OK those are the conditions! Those are the conditions for breaking it... drop it....and you'll break it... Ok... I'll put this on later guys...
D78 learners	Ah please miss...
D79 Teacher	I'll put it back on... Ok concession! These usually begin with though... or although...

	And they indicate granting certain circumstances... (Reading from the transparency) So though I tried to play the piano, I failed miserably. So it's a concession... although she tried... (tape end)
D80 Learners	(Copying notes)
D81 Teacher	So it gives the circumstance... yes she plays the piano, but she fails miserably! So the circumstance... is that she played the piano, but that she fails miserably...
D82 learners	(Copying down notes)
D83 teacher	Ok the last one is comparison... Ok now we've been doing comparisons, where else do we see comparisons?
D84 Learner 4	Metaphors...
D85 teacher	<p>OK good. In the same way here...two things are being compared or contrasted... in the same way as in a metaphor or a simile where you get comparisons with two things being compared or contrasted...</p> <p>We also see it here (points to transparency) and in here (points to another section on the transparency) we will see... the music is not as sweet as it was before... so your adverbial clause of comparison would be as it was before... would be the comparison or the contrast...</p> <p>He is as brave as a lion ... a lion... would be the adverbial contrast...</p>
D86 learners	(Learners copying down notes)
D87 teacher	(Moves on to next aspect. Flips onto a new page) Sorry... I am not an artist...
D88 learners	(Someone in learners asks question which is not inaudible)
D89 teacher	Sorry? OK what I'm going to do is divide you into groups of 4, and I group of 3 because there are 30 in the learners, so you are... you 4. Jaylee... if you can go with Simone and Jasinta, Tasmine Ashley, Clinton and Matthew together please...

D90 learners	(Learner responds) Ah ma'm... can us can be together?
D92 teacher	<p>Wait, wait wait.... I'm just working things out! Just go with them please! Stian, Tula, Michael and Jessie, please... your group... (Inaudible), Sarah, Jessie and um... (Points to learner) go together. Nikita, you are in another group, You three and Dianne are a group, Rees, you and Tim and Brandon and Robin are a group...</p> <p>And if you two don't mind going on your own (points to 2 learners). Is that OK?</p> <p>Unless... just hold on... how many groups is that? One... (Counts mentally) Ok can you go on your own Callie?</p> <p>8 groups...</p>
D93 learners	(Learners move into positions closer to their groups)
D94 teacher	<p>Now each group... Group number 1, which is you 4 are going to have the first one which is... time!</p> <p>...and what you need, Okay... before I give the groups each their allocated adverbial clause, what I need you to do in your group, is write a song for each one...</p>
D95 learners	(Collective complaint) Ohh... (in dread it seems)
D96 teacher	So you gonna come up each with a song lyrics for each one... explaining the adverbial clause... to us... you can explain it by singing examples, by singing what it means...
D97 Learner	I sang for my mother once...
D98 teacher	<p>You can rap, you can sing... (Learners breaks out into excited talking, gestures) ah ah ah ah ...OK so that is your task as a group,</p> <p>(Learners break out into excited talking. Teacher not happy with noise levels. Noise levels getting higher. Teacher battles to be heard)</p> <p>Grade 8's, grade 8's!</p> <p>And then what we're going to do... Each group's gonna come up here and present their group's song for the learners...</p>

D100 Learners	(Collective response) oh no! (Body language indicates that learners are not happy to do this)
D101 Teacher	Ah ah ah ... grade 8's... settle down! OK to group number 1... shh please listen... 8c! Timothy! Right group number 1 you've got... time... group number 2... you've got place... group no. 3 you've got reason... group number 4... you've got purpose group no. ... 8c I didn't say you could talk... 5... you've got result, group 6 you've got Condition, group 7... concession, and you 2 at the back will have comparison...
D102 learners	Ma'm can we move?
D103 Teacher	OK get into your groups... if you need to move do so... grade 8's please keep your noise to yourselves...
D104 Learners	(Learners move into groups)
D105 Teacher	Ok everybody start discussing that please...
D106 learners	(Talking)
D107 Teacher	Grade 8's! Please keep your noise levels down...
D108 learners	(Learners start to exchange ideas. Some sing out, some rap and other learners drum on their desks)
D109 Teacher	(While learners are working together on the given task, teacher hands out sheets containing rubrics for two types of assessments, headed: Learner and Peer assessments) Grade 8's your noise level is too high!
D110 learners	(Learner looks at rubrics and asks) What is this for? Ma'm, ma'm how long do we have to make the song?
D111 Teacher	As long as it takes... (Teacher rotates in groups, explaining things further. Points to transparency and to notes)

D112 learners	(Learners absorbed in task) (Teacher comes to me at the back of the learners and whispers) Are you getting everything, Cind? (I smile and shake my head. She moves to a group)
D113 Teacher	How are we going here? (Moves to group on far left and then moves to next group) How are we going guys?
D115 Teacher	Guys listen... all I'm worried is about the lyrics... even if you stand out there and said your lyrics... out... I don't mind
D117 Teacher	(Goes to a particular group who seem to be in difficulty) Ok what do you understand by reason?
D118 learners	(About 10 minutes are given to this activity – teacher seems to be monitoring activity using a small notebook)
D119 Teacher	(Comments to a group that are having difficulty...) Write down what you understand about the concept and then move out from there... OK so develop on that... use examples... use examples... think of some reasons why things happen... Ok learners start wrapping your songs up... right quietly grade 8's...
D120 Teacher	(Learners call Jill to their groups to explain certain things. There appears to be a general vagueness about the task) (learners appear to be sharing of ideas, rehearsing songs, rapping, etc)
D121 learners	Ok... two more minutes to wrap up your song...
D122 Teacher	Ok grade 8's, go back to your places...
D123 learners	Get settled... (Movement back to places)
D124 Teacher	OK, what I would like you to do, please listen... ah,ah,ah... OK 8c! I've given you this worksheet for assessment. Okay, what I want you to do is group 1... you will be assessing group 8 for the Learner Assessment... Ok group 2... you will be assessing group 3...

	group 3... you will you will be assessing group 4... Ok group 4... you will you will be assessing group 5... Ok group 5... you will you will be assessing group 6... group 6... you will you will be assessing group 7... group 7... you will you will be assessing group 1 for the Learner Assessment...
D125 (Learner 5)	Ma'm can't you give us another minute?
D126 Teacher	(Teacher holds up the evaluation sheet. Reads through some of the criteria for the learner evaluation. Points to relevant group) Alright! What you do is you just fill in this (holds up assessment sheet)... umm little grid that I've given you... Kay, those in brackets are the marks out of 5... what you think they should get... so for presentation of material- what you think they should get out of 5... relevance of content to the subject... the sentences... out of 5... register and language and style... out of 5... and the structure of the presentation out of 5... OK so that's what you doing with the group that's up there... (points to the group that will be evaluating the group in the front of the learners) That's how you will assess them.
D128 Teacher	OK group number 6 you gonna come up... Ok let's all keep quiet and listen...
D130 Teacher	Grade 8's you know that we respect other people when they are presenting...
D131 learners	(Chosen group, 4 girls, arrange themselves in front of classroom)
D132 Teacher	Ok just wait for the learners to be quiet...
D133 learners	(Group song) I know what circumstances...do you have a condition? If you drop it the condition is lost (dropping pen...) oops the condition is lost! (Successful song, long applause. enjoyed by learners)
D134 Teacher	Can I have group number... points to centre... what group number are you?
D135 learners	3!

D136 Teacher	Group 3's coming up...
D137 Learners	Group walks out.
D138 Teacher	OK 1.2.3... uh,uh grade 8's you being rude!
D139 learners	(Only the girls speak. The boys are silent) (Group 3 Rap) The reason why I smile... cos I see that look in your eyes... that looked so irresistible... so hard to define... my heart must be searching for you my sweet... The reason why she looks is because of the look in your eye...
D140 Teacher	And the boys what do they have to say?
D141 learners	(Boys respond) Ma'm if you see somebody smiling then you gonna also smile...
D142 Teacher	OK thank you (smiling and clapping)
D143 Learners	Applause
D144 Teacher	Can I have please have points to centre... what group number are you?
D145 Learners	Group 4
D146 Teacher	OK group 3 you are assessing group 4...
D147 learners	Ma'm how do we mark?
D148 teacher	Give them a mark out of 5...

D149 learners	(Learner) Do we tick the one in here? (showing the column)
D150 Teacher	OK let's go...
D151 Learner:	Rap: pephoo, pephoo what is Pephoo? (Bell goes)

5) TRANSCRIPT OF EXTRACT "E"

<u>Frame</u> <u>Speaker</u>	<u>Activities and Body Language</u>
E1 Teacher	Right...now we're going to work on an aspect of movement we spoke about in class the other day... sssh... you're talking too much... quiet now! Ok.
E2 Learners	(Noise subsides)
E3 Teacher	Right... first... first find yourself a space away from everybody else... yeah... just move your hands around like Timo... but without touching anyone Tim...
E5 Learners	(Noise builds up. Learners smiling, some laughing)
E6 Teacher	Justin! Stop fooling around... and move away from that table! Yes... (Points to learners) yes you... who else Justin... you know I'm speaking to you... stop disturbing!
E7 Learners	(Class gets quieter. Justin looks down. Appears to be upset.)
E8 Teacher	That's right... now... spread out as far ... as you can... come on... move... around let's fill up the room... Look in the mirror to the person behind you... ask yourself... can I move comfortably... Ok...good!
E9 Teacher	Okay... before we start... the ... main activity ... lets do our warm-up... hold on let me put our music on... (Turns the music system back on)
E10 Learners	(Hushed sounds of excitement)

E11 Teacher	Right... stand with your feet slightly apart in a relaxed position... yes... now... no smiling... just relaxed... right now very gently... go down into a crouched position... stay there... ssh... concentrate... let all your tensions go... feel the energy come from deep within your soul... close your eyes if you like... feel the music... the rhythm... those boys at the back, you're not concentrating...
E12 Teacher	Gooooood... you're doing well... now when you get up... I want you to stand up slowly... And... take a deep breath... not like this (demonstrates) but like this... (Teacher breathes out loudly)... right... breathe in gently and one... two... three... four... five... good...
E13 Teacher	Right now... remain standing... ok now breathe in again... and hold... hold and out ... one last time... in... mmmmm... and out... breathe in and hold and out... great.
E14 Teacher	Ok now... lift your shoulders to like here... see... hold it and... drop gently... right and drop... squeeze and drop... and one last time... this time guys ...try to empty your minds out... of all those thoughts... blank... feel the tension going... going...
E15 Teacher	Okay... now drop your head into your chest... feels nice on the neck... takes away the strain... sshh don't spoil it... feel the music... it's nice and soothing hey? Now let it roll side to side... from the left... good centre... right... and left centre right... Ok... great... now drop your upper body down from the waist... hey! Come here (points to a boy somewhere in the back) stand... right here in front... If you don't behave here... then I'm going to Mrs. L about it... so choose... Ok sorry guys... lets get back... you should be feeling more relaxed like this... now swing your hands from side to side... not fast or wild Jason! Gently like a huge Willow tree swaying in the breeze... Ok most of you are getting it... Now come up slowly... stretch to the sky... breathe in one... two... three four... and five... lower hands slowly to your sides... there... that was good wasn't it?

E16 Teacher	<p>Right... (Teacher clapping)</p> <p>(Picks up pace) Get into your groups... chop-chop... and you know that the more time you take to do this... the less time you'll have to do the fun bit... hey... so quickly now...</p>
E17 Teacher	<p>Ok... in your groups... stay where you are... no don't crowd just spread out a bit... good... now sit down in a circle wait the music's too loud (Teacher walks in direction of tape recorder)</p>
E18 Learner	<p>Aw miss... leave it on... (music)</p>
E19 Teacher	<p>No... just now... sshh... wait I'll put it back on later when you finish with your task... and that's only if you do it well... listen now</p>
E20 Teacher	<p>Ok... what we gonna do is... we gonna do a short piece of dramatization from... Whalerider... something short... like just a scene from like in her home with her grandfather, or in the school... or at the end with the whales...</p> <p>Ok... before you get to that... remember all the movements we've been doing so far... give me a few... Precious... you...</p>
E21 Learner	<p>Where? In the group miss?</p> <p>Oh... like ma'm we did the hands of a clock... like we used our body as the hands and ... ya ... we moved our hands and legs...</p>
E22a Teacher	<p>No... i'm not talking about the group movement... the individual ones... where I told you the movement and you guys copied...</p> <p>Like explosive movements... where you would have shot your body out in different directions... and the we did long movements and also some jerky... then smooth... come on... that was just last week...</p> <p>Ok now... you must use your bodies like how we did in those movements... I want to see passion... right... everything you got... no shabby stuff.</p>
E22b Learners	<p>In the same groups miss?</p>

E22c Teacher	Ya... some of you were... some of you in the groups you're in... and every one in the groups gonna have to contribute to the play... do you guys understand?
E22d Learner	Ma'm... can we sing too?
E22 Teacher	No... no singing... that takes too long... just keep it to movement and speaking... right! Ok? Miss... Miss like we all do a part?
E23 Teacher	Exactly... everyone does a part... then the play works... remember... you guys have to work together but...
E24 learner	(Laughter and giggling)
Teacher	Sshhh... listen... I won't have that rowdy behaviour... so... quieten down... Justin... please...
E25 Learner (Justin)	Sorry ma'm...
E26 Learner	Miss... are we getting marks?
Teacher	Yes... the whole group gets the same mark... like if Sharn's group gets 8 out of 10, then everybody there gets 8... so if you guys don't pull your weight in the group, the whole group's gonna suffer...
E27 Teacher	Yes Bongiwe?
E28 Learner	Ma'm... some people in the group they... do nothing miss and then they give us a bad mark...
E29 Teacher	Ok... let's be positive now... no more fussing... right I'm gonna give each group a mark out of 10... but also, we... together... all of us... must decide at the end which group is the best... ok... we all judging... not just me... so that's fair hey? Right... not too much noise now... you have about 15 minutes to do this... no more...
E30	(excitedly) Ma'm can I be Paikaea?

Learner (Jess)	Please ma'm...
E31 Teacher	<p>Stacy... (points to child sitting in this particular group) She's read that part well in class... for this group...</p> <p>The rest -you can be the villagers or the class-mates... depending on which part you gonna use for your play...</p>
E32 Learner	Jess you can be one of the boys!
E33 Jess	One of the weaklings... no ways, I like to Paikea... she's like so powerful
E34 Shaun	Well you can't cos miss wants Stacy!
E35 Jess	<p>Oh Shut up!</p> <p>You always so mean... you should be the mean grandfather... suits you...</p>
E36 Teacher	Hey... stop it you guys! Come on... you're wasting time... if it's not ready... no marks! Simple!
E37 Teacher	<p>Look at Georgia's group....they're working so well... and Ayanda and them... come now... let's see who can do the best!</p> <p>(Mary walks around room from group to group, listening in to the activities and making comments)</p> <p>(Group-work continues until the bell goes)</p>

6) EXTRACTS FROM “C” HIGH SCHOOL’S CODE OF CONDUCT

D. CONSEQUENCES OF BREACHING THE CODE OF CONDUCT.

Failure to comply with the Code of Conduct may result in:

- 1 Removal of the offending material that breaches the Code.
OR
Suspension of access to the Internet and e-mail facilities.
- 2 Instituting disciplinary measures:
Staff member: Tribunal and possible dismissal but this will depend on the severity of the breach.
Pupil: Tribunal and possible expulsion from school.

15. DISCIPLINE PROCEDURES.

- 15.1 Detention system.
- 15.2 Internal suspension, which can be linked to the disciplinary hearing.
- 15.3 Suspension mark system.

15.1 THE DETENTION SYSTEMS.

15.1.1 FRIDAY DETENTION

- 15.1.1.1 Friday detention is used for the following minor offences punishable by order marks: cheek/insolence, disobedience, dress parade failure, eating in classroom, grooming, jewellery, late absentee notes, littering, make up, misbehaviour, no name badge, no PE kit, not at lunchtime detention, bounds, overdue library books, sitting on balcony walls, talking in a silent zone, uniform infringements, being unshaven.
- 15.1.1.2 The order marks are given by the educators and prefects.
- 15.1.1.3 Order marks are collated weekly and are accumulative. Once a learner has reached 6 order marks he/she sits detention on a Friday afternoon directly after school for least 1½ hr.
- 15.1.1.4 Parents are notified of their child's detention by letter which is brought home by their child. This letter must be signed by the parent and the letter returned on the Friday by the learner when

he/she sits detention.
Failure to do so will result in 2 order mark

15.1.1.5 FRIDAY DETENTION TAKES PRIORITY OVER OTHER ACTIVITIES. THE LEARNER IS RESPONSIBLE FOR BEING IN DETENTION.

In the case of an urgent family commitment, a letter from the parent must be submitted to the person in charge of Detention **BEFORE** the detention period. The learner may then be excused at the person in charge's discretion: the learner will sit the following week.

15.1.2 MID-WEEK DETENTION

15.1.2.1 This form of detention is for more serious offences eg truancy, unsatisfactory work, no homework etc.

15.1.2.2 Notice for this detention is given by the Grade HOD.

15.1.2.3 This detention takes place Monday to Thursday.

15.1.2.4 The detention is run by a member of staff and is usually for the duration of 1 hour per afternoon.

15.1.2.5 A learner is given 24 hours notice and a letter to take home to his/her parent/guardian to sign, acknowledging the communication. This letter must be returned by the learner when he/she sits detention. Failure to do so will mean 4 Order marks.

15.1.2.6 ATTENDING DETENTION HAS PRIORITY OVER ALL OTHER ACTIVITIES. FAILURE TO ATTEND WILL RESULT IN 1 SUSPENSION MARK

15.1.2.7 SCHOOL RULE 1.2.4 REFERS. A learner who commits this offence **will not** be given 24 hours notice or a letter and will be required to sit the detention for ½ an hour.

15.1.3. SATURDAY DETENTION

15.1.3.1 This form of detention is for habitual offenders to work off excessive order marks or as an additional form of punishment to be used at the discretion of the Senior Management of the School.

15.1.3.2 Learners will be given at least 24 hours notice and told at what time they are to report for Saturday detention.

15.1.3.3 Learners will write out the school rules. During examinations, learners will be permitted to revise during detention.

15.2. INTERNAL SUSPENSION

- 15.2.1. This form of suspension is for learners who habitually create a disturbance in class so that they disturb the educational process of other learners.
- 15.2.2. The first step involves a 'time out' card which each teacher has. The learner is sent from the classroom for 5 minutes with the time out card. The learner's name will be recorded in the teacher's punishment book.
- 15.2.3. Should the same learner create a further disturbance that lesson, he/she will be sent to the Grade HOD who will prescribe Mid-week detention. The Grade HOD will keep a record of the detention.
- 15.2.4. Should the same learner still cause disturbances in class, he/she will be considered as habitually creating a disturbance and will then serve 1 (school) week's internal suspension.
- 15.2.5. The learner will be isolated in the top foyer for the duration of the school day. Worksheets will be sent to him/her each period. If he/she does not understand the work, he/she will have to make an appointment after school with the teacher/teachers concerned. Should the learner need to leave his/her place of isolation, he/she will be required to get permission from a member of staff or a secretary.
- 15.2.6. After 1 week, the learner will re-join his/her class and his/her behaviour will be carefully monitored.

15.3. THE SUSPENSION MARK SYSTEM

- 15.3.1. Suspension marks are allocated for more serious misdemeanours. The degree of severity, especially where alternative punishments can apply, rests with the Principal and members of the Management team. When applicable, the Chairperson of the Governing Body will be brought into the decision process. (cf Policy for Tribunals- page 14-15)
- 15.3.2. Suspension marks are given only by members of Management.
 - 15.3.2.1 The Grade HOD will open a file on the learner in which the following will be recorded:
 - nature of the offence,
 - Date and
 - Number of Suspension marks given.
 - 15.3.2.2 This information is recorded on the Central Administration Computer.
 - 15.3.2.3 Once a learner has acquired 3 suspension marks, the Grade HOD will make contact with the parent/guardian telephonically and in

A BRIEF GUIDELINE TO SUSPENSION MARKS

One (1) Suspension Mark for:

failure to attend mid-week detention
 first truancy - one day
 accumulation of 30 order marks for Friday detention
 fighting at school
 bullying
 forging an absentee note/teacher's signature
 changing effort symbols on a report (Daily or Weekly)
 cheating in tests
 smoking at school
 continual disruption of classes
 defiance

Two (2) Suspension Marks for:

repetition of any of the above
 serious defiance
 severe bullying
 sexual harassment

Three (3) Suspension Marks:

repetition of any of the above
 shoplifting in uniform
 smoking in public in uniform
 use of alcohol at school/in school
 uniform
 theft
 vandalism of school property
 fighting out of school in uniform
 assault
 intimidation
 [NB. Letter to parents.]

Four (4) Suspension Marks

possession of an illegal substance.

Five (5) Suspension Marks

use or trade in illegal substances at
 school/in uniform.

Six (6) Suspension Marks

severe harassment
 possession of a weapon at school.
 NB. Disciplinary hearings/Tribunal
 Could lead to expulsion.